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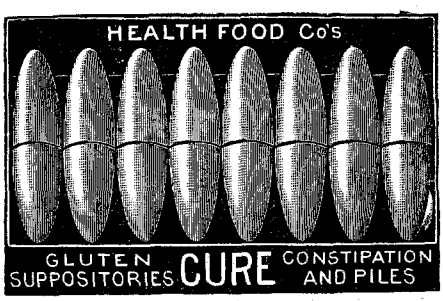

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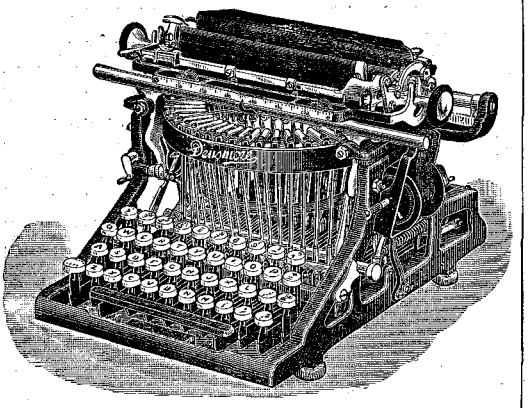

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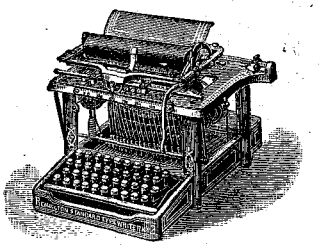

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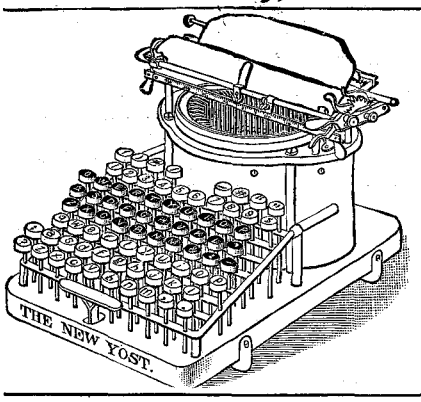

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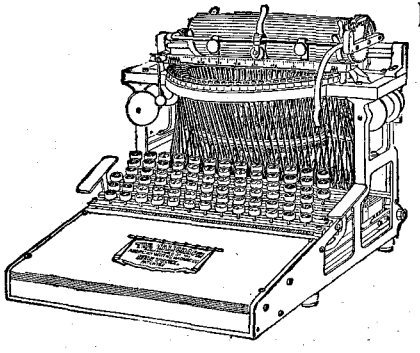

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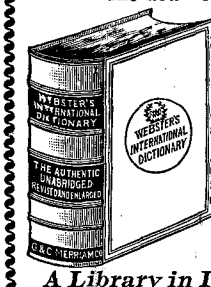
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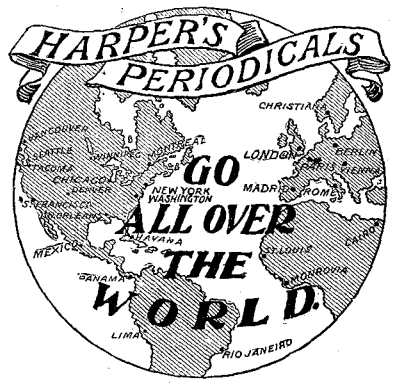

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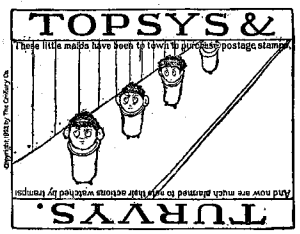
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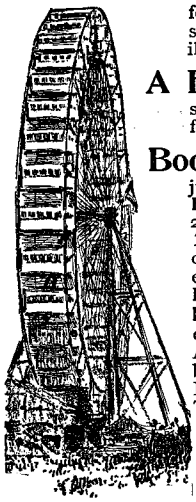

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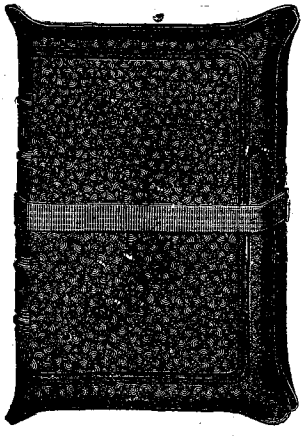

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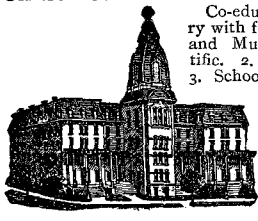

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The Forum

A REVOLUTIONARY REDUCTION IN ITS PRICE.

THE reduction in the price of THE FORUM (from $5 to $3 a year, and from 50 cents to 25 cents a copy,) makes the most thoughtful of our periodicals cheaper even than most of the magazines of mere entertainment. This change is of far-reaching importance; for newspapers and periodicals of fiction and adventure were within the reach of all classes of people even before the reductions in price that have recently taken place. But periodical literature of the class of THE FORUM has never before been offered at so low a price.

Intellectual activity and wealth unfortunately do not always go hand in hand, and to many persons the price of THE FORUM has been prohibitory. Evidence of this has been accumulating in this office for many years. A reduction in the price was seriously discussed two years ago, but was deferred till so great a reduction could be made as to put THE FORUM within reach of every reader who wants it. No such periodical can ever, so far as can now be foreseen, sell for less than 25 cents a copy. This revolution in price, therefore, is complete and final.

Never before and in no other country was such a periodical as THE FORUM sold so cheap, for never before and in no other country was there an audience of the proper kind large enough to warrant it. That there is to-day such an audience in the United States the growth of THE FORUM itself gives the most gratifying evidence. The truth is, there never was a time when so many people read good books and good periodicals, and were so eager to know the best opinion and the most important facts about the most important topics. There is a popular notion that the public likes trash, and that literary trash finds hundreds of thousands of readers; but of this there is no evidence except the boast of the publishers of trash

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themselves. All "sensational" publications are ephemeral, and the reports of the number of readers that they reach are always exaggerated. It is true, and it ought to be true, that people will not read dull books or periodicals; and no dull thing whatsoever can be good literature; but they do read good literature. For proof of this, consider the facts explained in Mr. Mabie's article in this number of THE FORUM. There is, we may be sure, no lack of readers of serious books and periodicals, if only they be good enough, and be not dull, and—if they be cheap enough.

THE FORUM, which is the largest American periodical of its class, will remain the same in size. Nor will its character of course be changed in any respect. It has never sought popularity by lapse from dignity or by forgetfulness of its aim, and it will not do so now. Its editorial conduct is unfettered; it has no "set" of writers—this in answer to a thousand and one inquiries; it serves no party or creed. Its business conduct, too, is independent and straightforward; it pays for its essays; and it has no free list.

There is good evidence that the audience already reached by THE FORUM is the most influential and intelligent audience that any of our periodicals has ever reached. There is, perhaps, no better single test of public-spirited intelligence in any part of the United States than the circulation of THE FORUM. An analysis of its subscription list shows, for example, that in proportion to population its largest circulation is in Massachusetts, and in such cities as Boston and Springfield; next in New York; in the West certain parts of Ohio, and of Michigan, take the lead; in the South a part of Tennessee, notably Nashville, an old city of cultivation and enterprise; and so on. A stranger to our country could very accurately indicate the centres of the greatest intellectual activity in the United States by a study simply of the distribution of THE FORUM.

THE FORUM'S service is not only to its readers, but also to its writers. Its aim is to enable our leaders in thought and in action to do all that may be done by frank discussion to shape the opinion, to build up the thought, and to direct the energies of our country. It will henceforth serve them better than it has ever served them be-

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fore, for it will give them a larger audience. Among all the distinguished writers for this number, for instance, not one has ever reached so many readers by his books as he will reach forthwith through THE FORUM—not Mr. Lecky with his great histories; nor Mr. McMaster with his popular "History of the People of the United States"; nor Mr. Woodrow Wilson with his "Congressional Government"; nor Dr. Brinton, nor President Hall, nor Mr. Mabie with his books of pleasant literary essays. More than this, while a few of the great daily newspapers and the great illustrated monthlies reach many more people than THE FORUM or any such periodical can ever reach, not one of them reaches a larger number of appreciative and influential readers. THE FORUM might, therefore, be accurately described as a machine to give the best writers the best audience, and now—at the minimum of cost to the audience.

Many of the readers of THE FORUM are kind enough to say that it is to them the most suggestive of our periodicals; because it collects facts which stimulate to sound thinking; because it publishes the conclusions of the best informed men on the most important subjects; because without equivocation or humbug it deals directly with the problems we have to solve, without favor, too, and without whims, and with balance of thought and an effort to keep a proper sense of proportion. That an increasing number of men shall say these things and profit by them is its aim and the reason for the reduction of its price.

Few important articles that appear in THE FORUM can be announced in advance, because they are about subjects of immediate interest and are prepared within the shortest possible time that thorough work can be done. The first aim is that every article shall be important, and the next is that it shall be opportune. But one of the characteristics of THE FORUM is the original work that it does. It starts discussions; its work is done at first-hand. A good specimen of this kind of work is the series of articles on the Public Schools that have appeared during the past year by Dr. J. M. Rice, who went for THE FORUM on a tour of inspection to the principal cities in the country. In somewhat similar ways many lines of original work will be taken up during the coming year.

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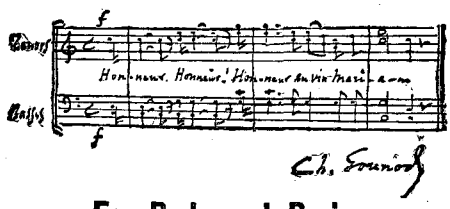

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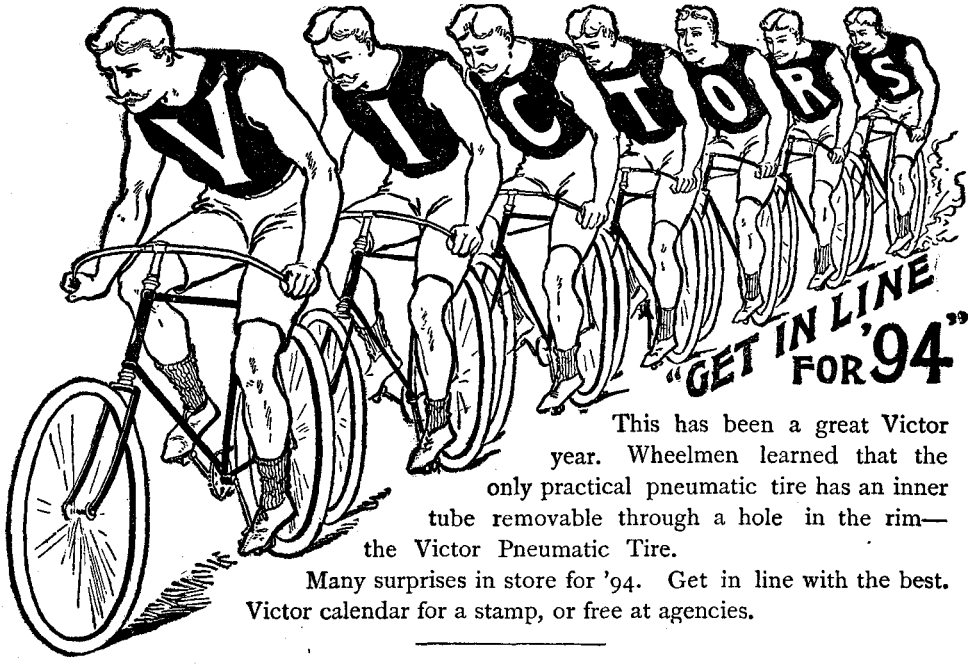

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The Forum

DECEMBER, 1893.

ARE PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS FOR SALE?

AMONG the supporters of Mr. Cleveland last year, there was no one whose influence was more potent and valuable than Mr. Whitney, formerly Secretary of the Navy, and Mr. Cleveland's warm personal friend. During the campaign, Mr. J. J. Van Alen, a gentleman of large fortune, whom Mr. Whitney "knew very well," contributed some $50,000 to the Democratic fund, and after Mr. Cleveland's election he promptly applied for the office of Minister to Italy. Mr. Van Alen was without experience in public affairs. He had not been distinguished in politics, letters, or diplomacy. As early as April last, it was known to some of Mr. Cleveland's best friends that Mr. Van Alen had given this money and wanted this place, and the President was warned of the scandal which would follow such an appointment. This was then understood to be "Mr. Whitney's one request of the Administration." On June 20, Mr. Whitney confirmed the fact in his letter to Mr. Cleveland. "This, as you know," he wrote, "is the first time you have been approached by me on the subject of appointments." Mr. Whitney reserves himself for great occasions. After some delay, and with apparent reluctance, the nomination was sent to the Senate and confirmed.

What is the meaning of this transaction? Why did Mr. Van Alen give the money? Why was he appointed? Men do not contribute $50,000 for nothing. This money might have been given "freely and from an interest in the success of the party," as Mr. Whitney puts it, or it might have been given with the expectation of some personal return. If it were contributed unselfishly, Mr.

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Van Alen's devotion to his party is very great, so great that we cannot but wonder why he should so soon ask for an office, the giving of which would bring scandal upon the party "whose success he so earnestly desired," and why he should not as unselfishly relieve the President of embarrassment by withdrawing his claim after that scandal had become current. Such sums are not given from disinterested motives and followed at once by personal claims. Whatever may have been the form of the words or the silence which accompanied the gift, Mr. Van Alen expected its equivalent. He gave the money because he looked for the office.

And the conclusion is irresistible, that he got the office because he gave the money. There was some reason for the appointment. What was it? Was it the eminent services of Mr. Van Alen? He was unknown to public life. Was it his fitness for the place? What is it that qualifies a man for the post of foreign minister? What must he do? In the first place he must represent his country. He must stand for America in the presence of the world. He must illustrate republican government, as Franklin did at the court of France. To do this he must understand and love the institutions of his country. He must be able to show their excellence as James Russell Lowell did in his admirable address on "Democracy." He must have the diplomatic talent to uphold the interests of his country, as Charles Francis Adams did during our late war. He must possess dignity and courage in the midst of excitement and danger, as Washburne did during the struggle between Germany and France. He must combine skill and delicacy, as Mr. Van Alen's predecessor, Albert G. Porter, did in the late difficulty occasioned by the riots at New Orleans, when Baron Fava the Italian Minister at Washington was hastily recalled. Mr. Porter had little experience when sent to Rome, but he had on many occasions manifested the diplomatic talent so needful in such emergencies. These are the qualities required of an American minister, when we need a minister at all. In what way had Mr. Van Alen shown that he possessed them? If he had done anything to demonstrate his fitness for this place, would not Mr. Whitney in a letter designed as a justification of the appointment, have given some fact in support of the opinion that he was "in every way adapted to the position"? The conclusion is irresistible that fitness was not the ground of his selection.

Was he appointed as a reward for political services? If so, what were they? Has anything been specified except the $50,000?

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Was the place given because Mr. Whitney pressed the appointment, and in liquidation of the President's obligation to his friend? Very likely. We can well understand that Mr. Whitney's importunities would be hard to refuse, especially when he makes but one request. Perhaps the hardest duty of a public officer is to reject, in the administration of his trust, the claims of personal gratitude. By no other channel do unfitness and incompetency more readily creep into the public service. Say, then, that this was the cause. But the question still remains, Why did Mr. Whitney request this appointment? The public reasons for the choice were wanting. His own letter in which he denied that he had promised the place points clearly to the motive. "There is," wrote Mr. Whitney, "additional reason for appointing him, that, as the result of that very generous and cordial support of the party in the late campaign when friends were few and calls were great, he has been accused of dishonorable bargaining." Can anyone doubt that Mr. Whitney's obligation to the man who had furnished $50,000 "when friends were few and calls were great" was the real ground of his insistence? It makes no difference whether there was any contract or not. Instead of suing in covenant upon the bond, Mr. Van Alen brings his action in *assumpsit* on the promise implied by the rendering of these most valuable services. And it is upon this count that judgment is confessed. He has drawn a sight draft for the office and the consideration is $50,000. In the last analysis it is evident that he got the office because he gave the money.

If this be so, what is the full meaning of the transaction? It means that money, mere money, will secure even from our Chief Executive, one of the highest and most honorable places in the gift of the government. Mr. Van Alen is not the possessor of those other personal or political qualities which can be thrown into such a transaction to make it sweet. The selection cannot be justified even by such poor reasons as were used in the case of Mr. Wanamaker, where business experience and ability were urged as the reason for his appointment to a business office, and the real motive for the choice was thus obscured. In the Van Alen case we are confronted with corruption in its most naked form. The President has told us that dollars alone, when given to the right person, at the right time, are sufficient to secure as high a place as that of Minister to Italy. We are informed that the mission to Rome is for sale, and the President ought not to wonder if we resent the insult. It will not do to lay this at the door of any one else. We cannot

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relieve the President upon the plea of lack of ordinary information. He made this appointment with his eyes open and against the protests of his friends; and the people, whose offices are thus given over to the methods of the auction mart, must hang their heads in shame.

We have had to witness a great many instances of the corrupt use of patronage. Offices, high and low, have been divided among party bosses, and services, often discreditable, rendered to political organizations, have been rewarded by public place and paid out of the treasury of the State. We have seen a code of morality which even in the army has become extinct revived in times of peace under republican government. Our political sensibilities have become so blunted that we have almost come to believe it right that the victor should carry off the spoils. In our municipalities, bargains are made and money buys the place and we pay little heed to it. Our State legislatures have been corrupted and men have won their way through the power of the dollar even to the Senate of the United States. But until very recent years we have had no reason to believe that the sanctuary of our Federal Executive had been invaded by the defiling influence of gold. It is this last step which indicates only too clearly the direction in which our political morality is moving. The appointments of Mr. Wanamaker and Mr. Van Alen are two long steps downward and backward toward the abyss from which free government can never rise. The descent must be stopped before it is too late.

A little more than four years ago, a successful Philadelphia shopkeeper, upon the instance of Mr. Quay, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, collected a fund of several hundred thousand dollars for campaign purposes. He was rewarded with the Postmaster-Generalship and the price for that office was then established. The public outcry at that iniquity was loud and long. It was one of the strongest reasons urged against the reëlection of Mr. Harrison. In the "Democratic Campaign Textbook" of the last campaign (page 189) is the statement, "Perhaps the most disgraceful act committed by President Harrison was the appointment of Mr. Wanamaker as Postmaster-General." The most sinister feature of the Van Alen appointment is that it comes from the Administration of a party pledged to the reform of such abuses and that there is no alternative left to the voters of our country except that between the party which is responsible for Mr. Wanamaker and the party which is responsible for Mr. Van Alen.

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What is the essential nature of such appointments? It is set forth in our text-books upon criminal law. In Bacon's "Abridgement" (*Offices and Officers F.*) we find:

"The taking or giving of a reward for offices of a public nature is said to be bribery. 'And surely,' says Hawkins, 'nothing can be more palpably prejudicial to the good of the public, than to have places of the highest concernment, on the due execution whereof the happiness of both king and people doth depend, disposed of, not to those who are most able to execute them, but to those who are most able to pay for them; nor can anything be a greater discouragement to industry and virtue, than to see those places of trust and honour, which ought to be the rewards of those who by their industry and diligence have qualified themselves for them, conferred on those who have no other recommendation, but that of being the highest bidders; neither can anything be a greater temptation to officers to abuse their power by bribery and extortion, and other acts of injustice, than the consideration of the great expense they were at in gaining their places, and the necessity of sometimes straining a point to make their bargain answer their expectations.'"

This is quoted by Russell ("On Crimes" I. p. 214), who adds:

"The buying and selling of such offices has therefore been considered an offence *malum per se* and indictable at common law."

Thus spoke the rugged intellect of our ancestors. The reasons are as sound now as they were then. The evil is just as great, nay greater, in a government of the people than in one of privilege and rank. Shall it be said that we have so far fallen off from these ideals that the sale of such places shall pass without our earnest remonstrance? It is not pleasant to think that our Chief Magistrate has done a thing which falls so close to the definition of the crime of bribery that it involves all the public injury and moral wrong so clearly described as the essential quality of the guilty act. It is not hard to foresee the consequences of such a precedent. No matter how widespread political debauchery may become, every form of it always begins with a single instance. The common law itself is merely the accumulation of precedents, "that wilderness of single instances" which has grown into jurisprudence. When the example set in this case shall become the rule and it is known that money will buy the place, that the big contributor will get the big office, what will follow?

The ruin of our public service is perhaps the first and most palpable result. No man who buys an office is ever worthy of it. What security is there that the purchaser of a foreign mission will not be base enough to sell his country? No man can fill a place which he has bought without dishonor to the land he represents.

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The self-respecting American must blush if he is compelled to meet him. A diplomatic service is worse than useless if it is to be the means of disseminating this reputation for our country. It is especially humiliating to reflect that in the land where Fabricius rejected the bribes of Pyrrhus, we are to have the living evidence that our republic has taken so little warning from the example of that which finally led to the decline and overthrow of the great republic of antiquity.

But the most fatal consequence of such appointments is the debasement of the suffrage and the general corruption of the people. There is strong reason to believe that the money secured by some of these vast campaign contributions was designed for this very purpose. The distribution of the funds raised by Mr. Wanamaker among the "blocks of five" is an instance. But whether this be so or not, why should the voter who sees office bestowed for money hesitate to take money for his vote? Why should men love a country where gold buys preferment and where the great offices are confined to the wealthy? Why should they die for it? What inspiration would there be in the great names of our history if we believed that the men who bore them were capable of an act like this? Why should men seek anything but gold, if gold alone is to open every avenue of honor? What sort of human beings will be developed under such a regimen? What other issue is there to-day fraught with results so full of ultimate peril to popular government? The cloud may seem small but it is laden with bolts of destruction. Other questions,—the tariff, the currency,—occupy more of our attention, but they are less vital in their consequences. We may not live to see the results of this corruption, but it is a sad inheritance to leave to our children. If we measure these things as they will be measured in history, other questions which are so absorbing now will fade into nothing by the side of this. We may cripple our commerce or our manufactures by a vicious economical policy, but the material resources of our people are well nigh inexhaustible and we will soon rally after temporary discomfort. From pestilence, famine and war we can rise in renewed strength. It is only when the heart fails, when public spirit languishes, that our case is indeed desperate.

WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE.

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NECESSITY FOR IMMEDIATE TARIFF REDUCTION.

THAT was a most welcome and wise act of the new Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, to limit hearings upon the tariff to a space of about two weeks. It indicated an earnest purpose on the part of the Committee resolutely to carry forward to a speedy conclusion the important work committed to it.

The work was begun not a moment too soon. It is already a year since the emphatic verdict of the people was rendered in favor of a reduction of the tariff, and charging President Cleveland and the Democratic Congress with the duty of carrying it into effect. Two years before, the present McKinley tariff had been condemned by a majority such as is rarely given in a free country. Never was there a more deliberate or more decided expression of the will of the people than that declared, after the fullest discussion, at the elections of 1890 and 1892, in favor of substantial tariff reduction. The evils, the burdens, and the injustice of the tariff have in the meantime grown no less. On the contrary, they are now bearing harder upon the people than ever before. The majority in Congress is, therefore, now under obligations as solemn as ever rested upon a political party, not to delay action unnecessarily, but to proceed with all diligence to obey the mandate of the people and give the country the relief which it sorely needs. It remains to be seen whether it will in this prove itself to be, to borrow a phrase from Governor Tilden, an efficient instrument of the people's will. The personnel of the Ways and Means Committee, the character and ability of its Chairman, and the apparent determination with which it has begun its proceedings give reason to hope that the expectations of the country are not to be disappointed.

There has been not a little talk about the so-called "danger in hasty tariff revision." But in my opinion the great and only danger is in delayed revision of the tariff. There is in delay serious danger, not only to the business of the country, but to the cause of tariff reform itself. Not that I believe anything can prevent the eventual triumph of that cause, but by a mistaken or dilatory

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method of procedure at this critical juncture it may be deferred another series of years, possibly a decade.

It is put forth as a reason for moderation and delay in revising the tariff, that many manufacturers "are not earning more than a small interest on their invested capital, and a large number of them do not even earn anything, while many have failed because of their inability to meet their obligations." One would think this state of affairs the best possible reason for instantly changing a system that left our industries in such a doleful condition; for it is a fact that many manufacturers are terribly handicapped by the high rates of duty on their raw materials. The true remedy is the prompt abolition of such duties, and this must necessarily be an important feature of any intelligent new tariff law.

There is no time so favorable for the inauguration of a great reform as immediately after the decision of the people in its favor has been rendered. Then public sentiment is ripe for the change. Then all opposition is for the time stifled, and the transition can be made from old to new conditions with less friction, with a readier acceptance by the public, and a more general willingness to give the new order a fair trial, than can be secured at a later period. For this reason, among others, it is unfortunate that, under our system of government, a new Administration does not come into power for four months after election and that a new Congress does not convene in regular session for thirteen months after election. With all confidence, justly placed, in the wisdom of President Cleveland, it was the opinion of many persons of excellent judgment, that he would have done well to summon Congress in extra session simply for action upon the tariff early in the month of May. That would have well accorded with the earnest declarations of the Democratic party against the enormities of the present tariff and its demand for speedy relief from the oppression and material injury caused by unjust and unnecessary taxation. It would have evinced a seriousness of temper in treating a great subject vitally affecting the people, which would have had great moral weight with the country. There were certainly very weighty reasons in favor of such early action; all which, with others superadded, are equally weighty now in favor of the speediest possible action by Congress in dealing with the tariff.

The present time, moreover, is most opportune for changing the tariff. The financial panic through which we have passed, with its attendant disaster and suffering, has furnished a golden opportunity

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for putting a new tariff into effect with the least possible displacement and loss. Thousands of factories and mills have been shut down or their production greatly reduced, because, their sales having stopped and all the loose capital of the country for a time apparently vanished, it was impossible to procure the money necessary for the purchase of raw material and the payment of running expenses. Manufacturers considered themselves very fortunate if they were able to meet their maturing obligations, without incurring new ones. There has been, indeed, a far greater cessation of production than could possibly have been caused even by the utter abolition of the tariff. Consequently, stocks of manufactured goods are much reduced. Any change in current prices, therefore, caused by a reduction of the tariff, if made within the next few months, would fall more lightly upon the holders of the goods thus affected than at any previous time in many years. I will not call the panic a blessing in disguise, but our legislators will be very unwise if they do not take advantage of so favorable a time for putting a new tariff into operation. I should urge this course largely in deference to current opinion respecting the immediate effect of a change of the tariff upon prices, for current opinion should by no means be altogether ignored in the preparation of new legislation. I myself believe that the immediate effect upon prices of a reduction in the tariff would be much less than is supposed.

Next to the restoration of confidence in the stability of our monetary standard, which will now follow the passage of the silver purchase repeal by the Senate, nothing will do so much toward securing a return of business prosperity as the enactment of a new and much lower tariff. What is our business condition? It is one of plethora. Vast as is our territorial area, boast as we may of our "home market," it has been growing more evident every year that the capacity of the American people to produce has far outrun their ability to consume. The increasing application of machinery to agriculture, the constant introduction of new and improved machines into factories and mills, the marvellous growth of our railroad systems, coupled with American energy and enterprise, have brought our rate of production up to a point where it is necessary that we obtain enlarged foreign markets for our products or else be content with an arrested commercial and industrial development. Foreign nations need more of our products and would be glad to buy them, but they cannot buy if we will not allow the products they have to send us in

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payment to enter our ports. A substantial reduction of the tariff would at once set in motion two healthy and life-giving currents. The inflow of foreign goods to our shores would be accompanied by a corresponding outflow of American products which would give a new impulse and a healthy growth to every branch of trade and industry.

The new tariff should be made to take effect immediately. The business world has known for a year that the tariff was to be revised and substantially reduced. Just what shape the revision would eventually take has not been known. There is warrant for the inference that raw materials will be made free of duty, accompanied by a system of graduated rates on manufactured articles, somewhat in proportion to their advance from the crude condition, due regard being had to the raising of revenue. But we are completely in the dark as to what will be the final form of the new tariff. It is simple justice to the great industries of the country that they should not be kept in suspense. The great majority of manufacturers are not at all afraid of a lower tariff. It will in reality be a great boon to them. But they are extremely impatient to know what it is to be in all its details. Now that financial confidence is fast becoming completely restored, our merchants and manufacturers are ready and desirous to proceed with energy and enterprise to recoup themselves for their losses during the recent crisis. But this they cannot do with intelligence and assurance until the new tariff has been enacted. The revival of business and industrial prosperity, therefore, and the welfare of millions of our countrymen dependent thereupon, to a very great extent now wait upon the action of Congress respecting the tariff.

Public sentiment, too, is now favorable. The controversy over the tariff, for a time at least, was settled by the last election. Everybody then understood that a change was to be made in the tariff policy of the country. A friendly and tolerant spirit among the people may be turned into one of vexation and opposition merely by reason of the weariness that comes from procrastination and delay. Meanwhile every element of opposition will be allowed to gather head and make such effective resistance as it may to any new tariff legislation. If, therefore, the Democratic Congress be guided by wise statesmanship, it will avail itself of the present favorable condition to inaugurate the great reform that has been delayed so many years and that is now expectantly awaited by our whole population.

Moreover the new tariff should be put into effect as soon as

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possible, in order that it may have time to vindicate itself and establish itself in the favor of the people before the Congressional elections of 1894. The permanency of the reform may be involved in having this done. Any new tariff, however excellent and sagacious its provisions, will necessarily arouse bitter feeling and create animosity in certain quarters. If the Congressional elections be held when the new tariff has been but recently put into operation and during the period of possible outcry and noisy demonstrations against it, and before our industries have had time to run smoothly in their new channels and the beneficial effects of liberated commerce to manifest themselves, there is some danger that a majority may be obtained in the House of Representatives and even in the Senate, adverse to the party responsible for the new legislation. Although such a Congress would have no power of repeal so long as the veto remained in the hands of President Cleveland, yet another tariff bill could be introduced in the House and discussions held thereupon for partisan and political effect, as a result of which many people might be misled or confused and a vantage ground secured by the opposition for the Presidential election of 1896. However slight the danger from this may now be thought to be, it can easily be avoided by the prompt passage of a tariff bill. I have every confidence that a wise tariff law, such as we may reasonably expect at the hands of the present Ways and Means Committee, if put into operation by the first of January, 1894, will find great favor in the eyes of the people before the Congressional elections of next year, and will continue to give universal satisfaction, until, with general consent, the business of the country shall be prepared for a further reduction of duties; thus repeating the history of the low Walker tariff of 1846, which, having brought prosperity to the country during a period of ten years, was further reduced in 1857. Mr. Blaine tells us in his "History" that "this act (the tariff of 1857) was well received by the people, and indeed was concurred in by a considerable proportion of the Republican party."

It was to be expected that all sorts of objections would be raised whenever the time came for the actual work of enacting a new tariff. It is not at all strange, therefore, that there should arise a chorus of protests, warnings, dire predictions, perversions of current events, all intended to hinder and delay the reform of the tariff. These are the professional cries of the statesmen and organs of the high-tariff party, and they take advantage of the present financial distress to try to raise

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both present fears and horrible imaginings in the minds of the timid and unthinking respecting the effect of an attempt to reform the tariff upon the revival of business prosperity. Astute and intelligent business men simply smile at these absurd and crude efforts to mislead. Many serious men of high-tariff proclivities sternly discountenance such false reasoning as calculated to do great harm by creating confusion as to the true nature and causes of the present abnormal business condition. These false prophets boldly claim that it is the fear of coming changes in the tariff which has paralyzed business, in the face of the facts, first, that all kinds of business were alike paralyzed, those that cannot possibly be affected by any change in the tariff, except beneficially, as well as those that may be supposed to stand in danger of some injury from a lower tariff; and, secondly, that during the first five months of the year all kinds of business were prosperous together, although it was known then, as well as now, that tariff changes were to be expected in the immediate future. I have it on the authority of not a few experienced business men, in different branches of trade, that the first five months of 1893 were generally more prosperous than the corresponding months of 1892, 1891, or 1890. There is just as much reason to suppose that the prosperity of these early months of the year was caused by the prospect of changes in the tariff as that the depression of the sixth, seventh and eighth months of the year is to be attributed to that cause. In reality, the tariff did not have the slightest effect in the one case nor in the other. As everybody knows, it was the fright that came over the minds of a great part of our population consequent upon the reduction of the gold reserve and the fear of a silver basis that caused the locking up of currency and the withdrawal of capital from active business, and this in turn stopped the wheels of business. It began to revive precisely as confidence was restored by the approach of the cessation of the monthly purchases of silver.

Alarmists may, however, lead some timid or over-cautious people to suppose that business will more quickly and surely return to normal conditions if Congress delay acting on the tariff. Is uncertainty, then, respecting the tariff better than certainty? Let Congress, it is said, do nothing about the tariff at present, in order that business may have time to recuperate. But how can business, affected by tariff changes, recuperate, when it is a foregone conclusion that the tariff is to be revised and yet everybody is at sea respecting what changes are to be made? How can woollen manu-

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facturers, for example, start in with confidence to produce large quantities of manufactured goods when there is a prospect that at a no distant day raw wool will be free of duty? How can we expect the thousands of retail merchants throughout the country liberally to replenish their now depleted stocks of goods when they fear that coming tariff changes may cause such a fall in prices as would leave them with a considerable loss? It seems clear to me that to postpone the revision of the tariff is to postpone the revival of prosperity by introducing uncertainty, as a constant element, in a large class of industries. On the other hand, the prompt passage of a new tariff bill would clear up all doubt; business would at once adapt itself to new conditions; our merchants and manufacturers would have courage and confidence to undertake new and large enterprises, and with a more liberal commercial policy, it is probable that we should at once enter upon a long course of business prosperity.

There is another consideration, pertinent to the situation at this time, when it is so extremely desirable that capital be induced to flow back into the channels of business,—namely, the fact that, after our silver purchases have been stopped, nothing would so surely induce English capital, which has recently been so largely withdrawn from investment in the United States, because of our silver legislation, to return to this country, as a change from our present obstructive high-tariff policy. The belief is very prevalent among English statesmen, capitalists, and business men, that lower duties would greatly stimulate and increase our various industries, and that we should be able, with free raw materials, to secure and hold many foreign markets for our goods that are now possessed by their own countrymen. It is well known that Mr. Gladstone shares this belief. I have knowledge that it is held by not a few sound business men on the other side of the water. America will, therefore, be a much more attractive place for investment to English capitalists, as soon as our tariff has been reduced. The prompt passage of a low tariff bill would effectively supplement the repeal of the silver-purchase law in inducing that inflow of foreign capital now so much needed to aid in reviving business activity.

Let no man fear that a tariff bill, promptly prepared within a short time, would necessarily be crude, unbalanced and imperfect. It is the experience of men of affairs, that work rapidly performed, and even under a certain amount of pressure, is more likely to be well done than when executed in a slow and dawdling way, during a

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long period. This is especially true when the subject is not new and unfamiliar. The gentlemen of the present Ways and Means Committee are conversant with the subject they have in hand; they have abundant statistical information and the ripe judgment and experience of other able men, both inside and outside of Congress, who have given long years of study to the tariff. It is probable that a more just, a more symmetrical, and, on the whole, a wiser piece of tariff legislation would result from a few weeks of earnest and conscientious work—particularly if constructed, as it should be, upon broad and simple lines—than if the vain attempt were made, through weary months of labor, to harmonize into a consistent whole, a vast mass of contradictory testimony, poured upon the Committee by many persons, most of whom would have only private and selfish ends to serve, without any regard for the general good. It is, in fact, probable that the volunteered statements of producers and manufacturers before the Ways and Means Committee tend rather to darken counsel than to illumine the way of the Committee to an intelligent and just revision of the tariff schedules. It should not be forgotten that there has been an immense amount of consideration and discussion bestowed upon the tariff during the past ten years, the fruits of which are now available. Fewer weeks than there were months expended in preparing the McKinley tariff should suffice for the enactment of a thoroughly satisfactory measure.

And when the new tariff bill shall have been introduced in the House of Representatives, it is to be hoped that debate upon it will not be unduly prolonged either there or in the Senate. The debate in the Lower House on the Silver Repeal bill clearly showed that a very thorough and ample discussion can be had upon a measure of prime importance within a space of two weeks. The people of the United States are inclined to favor that party which is able to accomplish results. They desire prompt action on the part of their representatives in carrying into effect needed legislation. Especially are they intolerant of inaction and delay in dealing with measures affecting their business interests. Their dissatisfaction is not always noisily expressed, but it is deeply felt, and is sure to be manifested in opposition to the responsible political party at the next election.

A. Augustus Healy.

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A PLAN FOR AN AUTOMATIC, BUSINESS-LIKE TARIFF.

THERE is no doubt that the country has become tired of discussing the tariff. When the people have decided anything as emphatically as they decided the question of tariff reduction at the past two general elections, they are inclined to let the subject drop, and to put the responsibility of carrying out their wishes upon the men whom they have sent to Congress. That task is now imposed on the members of the Fifty-third Congress. In the mean time the manufacturing interests of the country await developments, and they will watch with keen interest the discussions that will take place in the House and in the Senate; for it cannot be otherwise than unfortunate that two important and radical changes of the tariff, formulated from entirely different points of view, should have to be agitated within a period of five years. That the industries of the country have not materially suffered from this continued uncertainty, argues well for their stability.

While the people are tired of the general discussion of the tariff, it is in order to present a definite plan for reducing it, a plan which I hope will be regarded as scientific. In order to make my purpose perfectly clear from the beginning, let me say that the plan I have in view is one whereby that portion of the revenue necessary to be raised by a tax on imports shall every year have a direct relation to the necessary revenue, and this without a yearly formulation of a new tariff. It is doubtless well understood that the collection of our revenues heretofore has been without any direct reference to the expenditures of the Government. They have been collected in various ways, and passed into the treasury, and expended under the directions of the Departments of the Government authorized to make such expenditures. This simple statement would seem sufficient to a business man, without any argument, to show the necessity of reform. Yet this method of collecting revenue without regard to the sum needed by the Government has lasted through generations without eliciting any pointed protest from the people. Mr. Cleveland, during the latter part of his first administration, found that the

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revenues then collected under existing laws had resulted in an accumulation in the Treasury of a sum exceeding one hundred million dollars, for which the Government had no immediate use. In his Message of December 1887, he called the attention of Congress to that fact, and to the injustice of withdrawing from the hands of the people such vast sums, for which the Government had no legitimate use, thereby crippling various industries and enterprises. The ultimate effect was a verdict of the people condemning that system.

It has always struck me that the movement simply to lower the tariff duties would not accomplish the whole purpose we have in view, unless some provision were made whereby accumulations of unnecessary revenue under any tariff should become impossible, and whereby the manufacturing industries of the country might reckon definitely upon some stable policy of the Government toward them, not subject to the violent fluctuations caused by changes of Administration. I have been surprised that some of our leading minds have not directed their efforts to the solution of this problem. It is doubtless beset with many difficulties and cannot be made perfect in the beginning, but I believe that a sound principle for its ultimate solution can be found, and that laws framed accordingly can be put in operation that will not materially disturb, even at the start, the industrial enterprises of the country. It will be much easier for them to adapt themselves to such a policy than it is to stand the constant uncertainty which now besets them. With this end in view, and for the purpose of eliciting discussion, I formulated a plan about two years ago which has been much discussed and very favorably commented upon by many of the leading newspapers. I introduced that plan in the form of a resolution in the House of Representatives, during the recent extra session. It is now before the Committee of Ways and Means, to which it was referred.

I do not pretend that this plan is even approximately perfect, except in one respect, and that is, in the underlying principle; the principle, namely, that the taxes upon the people should in no year be in excess of the necessities of Government. The Government is in receipt of a certain income, from its internal revenue taxes, from its consular service, and from other sources, which can be, and in fact are, usually estimated by the Secretary of the Treasury in his Report to Congress. The balance of the needed revenue, according to the present custom, must come from the duties collected upon imports. These also are generally estimated by the Secretary of the

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Treasury in his Report, and upon this basis the appropriations are made.

I would reverse this order of things, and first ascertain what the requirements of the Government are, and deduct from that sum the estimated amounts receivable from all other sources and thus ascertain the amount necessary to be raised from the tariff on imports. Then I would levy it accordingly.

How to do this, without disturbing the commercial interests of the country, is the question that confronts us. Of course, if all articles could by their nature pay the same rate of import duty, the problem could easily be solved by fixing the percentage necessary upon the estimated amounts of imports. But all articles do not stand upon the same basis, and hence such a course would work great hardship. This consideration led to the suggestion of various schedules which should not share in the uniform rate of duty. The first was the free-list, toward the making of which the people have assisted Congress by their declarations at the last two elections, that all raw material necessary to the manufacture of goods should be admitted free of duty. The second schedule would embrace partially manufactured raw material such as must be used again in manufacture, and upon which the duty, even under the McKinley tariff, does not exceed ten or fifteen per cent. Since it would be manifestly unfair to those who pay internal revenue taxes, to place them in the same schedule as those manufacturers who are not burdened with that tax, the articles on which an internal tax is levied, which are few in number, consisting chiefly of wines, spirits, cigars, and tobacco, should pay a rate of duty which will bring a good revenue over and above the amount of the internal revenue on them.

Having thus eliminated all the foregoing classes of articles from the list of importations, I know of none remaining that would suffer by being subjected to a uniform rate of *ad valorem* duty sufficient to meet the requirements of the Government. This rate could be changed year by year as the sum of the necessary revenue required. The main objection to this arrangement is that it would subject the importations of the unspecified class every year to a varying rate of duty. In order to ascertain how great this variation would be, I have gone as closely as possible into the estimate of importations and expenditures of the Government for three years, in which there were the ordinary variations, and I find that in no two years was there a difference of more than five per cent. That amount would be quite

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serious were it applied to large staples, but these have already been eliminated and put down in the other schedules. Upon the goods to which the variable duty would apply it presents an obstacle no greater than the ordinary fluctuations which merchants have to confront every year. It is estimated that in years of ordinary expenditure the duty necessary to be levied on the unspecified list would not be far from 35 per cent. This rate of duty, with the additional benefit derived from free raw material, would doubtless prevent foreign competitors from unloading their surplus upon our own markets.

My own experience as an export merchant has extended over thirty-eight years, in which time I have done my share to introduce American manufactured goods into foreign countries in competition with the manufacturers of England, Germany, France, and Spain; and this experience has convinced me that the fears our manufacturers have of foreign competition are totally without reason. Every year has witnessed their fresh triumphs in foreign markets over all competition; every article of our manufacture has fought its own way, until to-day I can safely assert that in nearly all our manufactured products, a notable exception being woollen goods, we are not only able to sell on equal terms with foreign manufacturers, but to furnish a better quality at a lower price. It has taken years to break up the trade-habits of the foreign markets, and to induce them to consider American goods, even though they were offered at lower prices. But the doors are now open; our manufacturers are the peers of the manufacturers of other nations in their ability to serve the world. If they would look to foreign countries as markets for their surplus and would exert themselves to please the tastes and convenience of foreign consumers as their European rivals do, they would drive out all competition without the necessity of lowering wages. If they have been able to attain their present position while paying a duty on raw materials, how much more easily can they accomplish the result with that tax removed! To-day the merchandise and machinery manufactured in the East, the West, and the South, can be found in every market in South America, in Africa, in Australia and New Zealand, in China, all through Asia, among the Arabs and in the desert. No nation has ever achieved so signal an industrial victory in so short a time. Those of us who through a generation have been knocking at the doors of other nations' markets, trying against great odds to introduce American manufactured goods, know that those doors are now open to our enterprise and skill. I say, there-

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fore, that the rate of duty involved in this plan should be more than sufficient to quiet the fears of our manufacturers, and that they ought to welcome any arrangement that will end the uncertainty that has been caused by tariffs made for political considerations.

But there is another class to be satisfied—the workmen. To quiet their fears and to bring to a test the question whether or not the labor-cost, including machinery, of our mechanical productions, exceeds the labor cost, including machinery, of the competing manufacturers abroad, I have provided another schedule. This schedule is arranged so that in case the manufacturers of any specified article can prove to the Committee of Ways and Means or the Secretary of the Treasury that there is a greater difference in the cost of labor, including machinery, than would be covered by the uniform rate of duty, the manufacturers may upon presenting satisfactory proof to the Committee be entitled to have such article put upon this schedule, with a specific duty equal to the difference in labor-cost. I do not believe that this privilege would ever be claimed, for I am sure that no article manufactured in this country to any extent has a higher labor-cost than its European competitor. This arrangement puts the burden of proof upon the manufacturer, and deprives him of an excuse for lowering the compensation of his workmen. I think it is worth something to try such a plan for a year or more, in order to make this point plain to the people and to put to a practical test the claim that our workman needs a high tariff for his protection.

Under the plan that I propose, there would be four schedules:

Schedule A—To be composed of articles free from duty, including all raw materials necessary in the manufacture of goods.

Schedule B—To be composed of articles which, on account of their nature, should not pay a duty exceeding 10 per cent—mainly partially manufactured materials.

Schedule C—To be composed of articles, principally wine, spirits, tobacco, cigars, cigarettes, upon which a duty must be charged sufficient at least to compensate manufacturers, who pay a tax under our internal revenue laws. Also, of a few well-defined articles of luxury, which will bear a rate of at least 40 per cent *ad valorem*.

Schedule D—To be known as the schedule for the equalization of labor cost, including machinery, which shall be made up from time to time in the manner specified.

The cost of a manufactured article is made up of two principal items, namely, the raw material, and labor with the use of machinery. Under this plan the material would cost our manufac-

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turers no more than it does their foreign competitors. The other item, labor, with the use of machinery, costs I am sure less here than abroad notwithstanding our higher standard of wages; but should that supposition be incorrect, and should it be found that there exists a greater difference than is covered by the estimated duty, it is made safe by the provisions of schedule D.

Is it not reasonable to suppose that, if it were understood that the new tariff would conform to these suggestions, manufacturers would feel safe in resuming operations without waiting for completed legislation, and would not their refusal to accept such a plan be construed into an admission that their object is not so much protection against foreign competitors as against their neighbors, the consumers?

Chairman Wilson of the Ways and Means Committee in his recent reply to remarks made by Mr. Reed alluded to the great difficulties experienced by his committee in formulating the schedules of the new tariff, giving as a reason that they were obliged, on account of their own imperfect knowledge of the details, to rely upon the statements of experts who are nearly always manufacturers and consequently interested parties. This is the same difficulty that has always beset efforts to formulate a tariff on the old lines. It is also an intimation that notwithstanding the fact that the new tariff is to be a tariff for revenue only, it is to be levied on lines of such protection as they deem necessary.

While I do not object to this spirit I am convinced that it will not satisfy anyone, but create a great amount of dissatisfaction among the various interests affected. It will not introduce any new principle upon which to work out permanent results. The manufacturer will still continue to look toward Washington instead of making the most of his own resources. After a little experience in self-reliance he would, I feel sure, come to the conclusion that a tariff for protection, whatever may have been its benefits in the early days of our industries, to-day brings with it more difficulties than advantages; and his adherence to it now is rather because of sentiment and tradition than of any intelligent idea of its necessity.

The increasing wants of the Government combined with the naturally decreasing importations will doubtless before long make it necessary to provide new sources of income. The plan proposed leaves that whole question open, while it directs the discussion of revenue away from the tariff into more healthy and less demoralizing directions.

WILLIAM J. COOMBS.

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FRANCIS PARKMAN AND HIS WORK.

MASSACHUSETTS has furnished the men who have chiefly written American history. Palfrey, Prescott, Bancroft, and Parkman have taken their places in our literature as permanent authors. Each has contributed work of value. Prescott illustrated the Spanish occupation of America; Bancroft was the first to tell the story of the United States; Palfrey was the first to give a unique and continuous account of the history of New England; and Parkman has told the story of the French occupation of North America so that it will not need to be told again. The present century is notable in this country as the period for writing its history as well as that in which its literature has been chiefly produced, and during this time the materials have been gathered and assorted and utilized so that the history of the aborigines and the story of the occupation of the continent by Europeans could be told with fulness and accuracy. It is not a little remarkable that four Massachusetts men, the product of the best culture in New England, and all contemporaries, should have practically been the historians of America in this way; and if their histories have varying merit, they are at present those which command attention for the periods which they cover, and they have set high the standard which must be followed by writers in the future.

Francis Parkman was the youngest of these historians, and the writing of the story of France and England in North America was the occupation of his life. He had it in mind in his eighteenth year, and worked toward it and planned for it through all the rest of his life,—giving his thought, his time, and his fortune to it with a unique devotion which, in spite of almost insurmountable difficulties, enabled him to complete his undertaking within the limits of threescore years and ten. The result of what he planned to do when a Harvard student is before us, and is so thoroughly the fruit of a rare consecration to a great enterprise that the story of his life is essential to a full appreciation of the greatness of his task, and of the exceptional gifts and character which he brought to its completion. From his early boyhood, even before he had formed the resolution to take

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up "The Seven Years' War," he unconsciously shaped his course in the direction in which his life was to go, and was preparing for it in his daily recreations. He was always fond of an outdoor life, and when a student at Cambridge was as familiar with rifles as he was with his books, and had inured himself to exposure and hardship in the Middlesex Fells and in summer expeditions in the wilderness of northern New England, so that he might understand how pioneer warfare was carried on and be thoroughly acquainted with every detail that might be experienced by a pioneer in the wilderness or a settler upon the frontier. Before he left college, he utilized a year in Europe in becoming acquainted at first hand with the institutions which had given character to the French civilization in North America. When he was graduated at Harvard in 1844, he had made himself a master of French and had pursued his English studies far more thoroughly than was then common in an academic education, taking Burke as his master in style, and already distinguishing himself among his associates as one who had plans of his own.

After graduation, under the pretext of studying law, he was really studying the history of Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and preparing himself by a general knowledge of the state of Europe to trace the efforts of the French at the highest reach of the monarchy to take their share in the colonization of North America. At every step in this young man's career, he was working at some part of the great undertaking which he had in mind. He threw his whole soul into it, and in the spring of 1846, in company with his cousin, Mr. Quincy A. Shaw, he undertook the experiment of spending the summer with a tribe of Dacotah Indians living this side of the Rocky Mountains, in their native wilds. They were complete savages, and his life was in their hands, but the knowledge which he sought was worth the taking of extraordinary risks to obtain. It was essential to the writing of a history in which the North American Indians had a distinguished part. No one could give a lifelike account of these tribes, their habits, their methods of warfare, their part in the settlement of the country, unless by personal observation he knew how to interpret their actions; and in this brief adventure he acquired just the knowledge which was necessary to prepare him for his task. But while among them he was overcome with physical illness. It was then that the spirit of the man rose to the situation. He knew that among these roving savages to confess illness was to be tomahawked, and many a time

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he was lifted into his saddle in the morning when it was only by an effort of the will that he could keep in his seat during the day. It was the turning of a tour of observation into a fight for life, and all the heroism of his nature rose to the occasion. He suppressed his illness as best he could, and was accounted among the savages as a brave man. When he returned home the strain had proved so great that he found himself disabled for the rest of his life. It was for a long time a struggle, almost hopeless, to rise above his physical condition. His troubles threatened congestion of the brain, and it looked as if his summer with the Indians would result in a permanent disability to carry on his work.

It was then that the man stepped forth and arranged his career. Apparently he had no outlook and could not do what he had prepared himself to do; and at the time when he was just ready to begin his lifework and was ready to make any sacrifices for it, it was seemingly out of his reach. Some men would have yielded to despair and allowed the mind to sympathize with the enfeebled body, but not so Parkman. He had planned a work whose proper execution demanded not only the full command of his mental gifts but many years for its successful development. It was quite as ambitious as that which Bancroft set out to prepare in his youth, and like that it had to be written from original materials. The historian must gather his facts from documents furnished by the actors in leading events and laid away in public archives, and he must reconstruct from widely scattered materials the history of the periods he covers and must inspire them with his own sense of their character and meaning. To do this successfully requires the full command of his powers.

But at the very outset Parkman was beset with conditions which threatened to leave him a hopeless invalid. The physicians assured him that he would die, but he told them that he should not die; they told him that mental work would be fatal, but with all respect to their diagnosis, he refused to follow their advice. While his brain was in such a condition that he could not use it at all, his eyes gave out, and for three years he was obliged to suspend all intellectual work and live the quietest of lives. But nothing could quench his intellectual vitality, and with every physical trial his spirit rose above the enfeebled body and controlled it to his will. He knew as if by intuition that the subject to which his attention had been drawn was one that was complete in itself, and that it combined elements

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of romance and discovery such as had not been presented in the previous accounts of the occupation of America. He conceived the plan of going back to the beginning and tracing the native tribes from their first contact with French and English civilization down to the time when the French occupation of North America ceased to exist. This covered a period of more than two centuries, and it ended in the placing of North America under the control of one nation and in the way of a development into one civilization. The telling of this story was to exhibit the struggle of the aborigines with the white men, to enter with the knowledge and the instincts of our common humanity into the heart of savage life and to set forth this struggle in its reality and severity. At the same time it was to show how far French institutions of the time of Louis XIV. could be made to serve a civilizing purpose in this struggle, and how far they could aid the highest purpose. The struggle was unique. It was a warfare in the wilderness, a contest in which the Indians and then the French usually had the advantage, but in which the victory was not with the swift nor the battle with the strong, and in which the Anglo-Saxon race rose to its full power and finally gained the mastery in North America. To tell this story for the first time, from original materials, scattered here and there in the archives of three nations, and to gather up the traditions of savage life and of the old French conquests, and of the settlers upon the border, and to weave them all into one consistent and artistic story,—was the work that Parkman had before him. He addressed himself to it, sick as he was, as if he were a well man, and it may be said that every working day of his life and every particle of his mental strength was employed in this task until it was completed in 1892.

The strength of his purpose is to be measured by the difficulties which beset him. For a great portion of the fifty years during which this undertaking occupied his whole time he could not use his eyes continuously for more than five minutes, and at his best he could never work more than ten hours a day. He had the industry and the habits of application of a literary man, and his life was spent in the handling of historical materials, but he was compelled to follow the life of a recluse. Much as he enjoyed society, he could not bear the strain of it. He must choose between his pleasure and his work, and it was always in favor of the work. No other literary man of the period has labored under greater difficulties. "The Oregon Trail" was dictated to his companion among the savages, and all his

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other volumes were dictated to a member of his family who prepared them for the press. When I asked to be allowed to see his manuscripts, he replied "I have none." He could not bear the strain of writing, and it was only with the utmost care and seclusion from excitement that he could work at all. Prescott had impaired sight, and his infirmity has helped the sympathetic appreciation of his writing. Parkman resolutely hid his difficulties from the public and reluctantly spoke about them. His conviction was that the public had nothing to do with the personality of an author, and that his published work alone was its property, and he lived up to his conviction. In all the prefaces to his works there is hardly a hint at the difficulty which he had to contend with, and though not a line of his histories was written without physical strain, his style is as clear and joyous and serene as if his work had been done with ease. He had a thorough mastery of himself, and knew his limitations and kept within them. For half a century he lived a life of "repressed activity," (these are his own words) having his mind wholly unimpaired, but unable to use it beyond a certain limit on the penalty of having it taken away from him. The contrast in his later years between his wonderfully fine physique, which suggested the powers of an athlete and the vigor of a mind and will that could not easily endure opposition, and the complete control of his vital forces so that the lion was always couchant within him and the spirit was subdued to the gentleness and modesty of a child—this contrast was habitually shown in his bearing and was more marked to one who enjoyed his friendship and knew him well than anything else. He bore his affliction with a gentle patience that was as touching as it was beautiful, and made him both gracious and lovable.

While his mastery of himself was the supreme work of his life and the foundation of everything he did, it was also the secret of the success of his work. To gather his materials he had to make seven separate trips to Europe, and constantly to engage the services of experts in hunting among manuscripts and in copying important documents. Nearly two hundred folio volumes of these copies are in an oaken cabinet in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the permanent evidence of the tireless industry which he illustrated in his writings. This immense mass of materials had to be read to him several times before he could master it. He could not read and study it himself. His first aim was to distinguish between essentials and non-essentials and to obtain a good outline of

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a period; then he went over the same material again to see how one part was related to another; then he began to fill in the details which gave a personal character to the narrative; and then with the whole story in his mind, and with each part adjusted to the other, he was ready to dictate. It will be seen from his method of mastering his materials that it was the method by which art conceals art, and his continual grasp of this great subject and his unexampled mastery of his materials were favored by the limitations of his life. He confined himself to one subject; it was his constant thought by day and by night; and it was held in his grasp so completely that every part received adequate attention. He was under no temptation to neglect accuracy, to spare reputations, to favor parties. The actors had all disappeared, and even the issues of the contests had passed into history. Provided he could snatch from his physical infirmities time enough to study his materials with a clear head, his conditions were superb for the production of works of enduring value, and he spared no pains to prepare himself by visiting localities and by verifying statements of fact to make his history as nearly as possible a true story. There were no obstacles which he did not surmount, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to find a single careless or misplaced or inaccurate word in the twelve volumes which he has given to the world. This mastery of difficulties was moral as well as intellectual, and it was the gathering up of what was strongest and best in a great man for the conscientious execution of a work to which he had consecrated himself in early youth with all the gifts that he had. In modern literary annals there is no author who for half a century has pursued his task with equal mastery of himself and of his materials, or with equal moral force in the execution of his purpose. With everything against him, he rose superior to obstacles: his writing asks no favors, though it was wrought under almost insuperable difficulties.

It is this statement of what he overcame in writing the history of France and England in North America which places us in a position to understand his work as an historian. It illustrates and develops his qualities as a man. His history was the one thing that he lived to do, and it absorbed his entire thought and strength. Parkman was intolerant of shams and unrealities. He went below the surface to the foundations. He was satisfied with nothing but the original documents, and the first work he did in planning his series of historical narratives was to gather from every quarter the

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original materials which contained the facts with which he had to deal. This fidelity to truth and accuracy in statement cost time and money, but the same fidelity which led him to visit in 1846 the primitive tribes of the Rocky Mountains in order to portray the American forest and the American Indian in their full reality, led him to exhaust every bit of material that was accessible in writing his history. Nothing short of the original documents would do, and from the beginning his historical narratives had the character of impartial records. With every bit of accessible knowledge at his hand, he could write history that was accurate, and it has been his crowning merit that his statements could be verified. He felt the influence of Jared Sparks as a student of history and would do nothing unless he could work from original documents and have the field to himself. He was fortunate, on the whole, in obtaining the entire control of the documents that were necessary to his purpose, and more fortunate still in being able to use these materials in such a way that his judgment and impartiality were not successfully disputed or denied. It is the crowning merit of his work that it will stand.

Born and bred a Unitarian, and not in any sense accepting the religious faith which dominated French civilization, he treated the Jesuits and the old régime in Canada with such fairness that his statements, at times severe and revealing things that it was not pleasant to mention, compel the acceptance of what he wrote as the truth. A higher compliment to his fairness as a historian could not be paid. He was just and fair to all parties, and he had the courage to state the truth so that it must be accepted. This veracity and fidelity have been so distinct a feature of his historical writing that his volumes have been accepted without dispute as an authority for the period which they cover. Their statements have borne the brunt of attack, and though the narratives have been in some cases subjected to the fierce light of criticism for nearly half a century, when the series was completed in 1892, there was but little for the historian to revise in the text of the earlier work.

The narratives began with "The Conspiracy of Pontiac," in which he presented the American Indians in their contact with the French and the English in their native forests. Though this work came from a young man in his twenty-eighth year, it bears none of the marks of immaturity. The style is different from that of "The Oregon Trail," and the grasp of the subject is definite and clear,

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while the style is never too redundant and constantly gleams and flashes with the feeling of the author. It is in this work that he deals at length with the Indian character, and has Pontiac for his hero; but complete as it is as a sketch of the struggle which the Indians maintained against the Europeans, it is a narrative written with the coolness, the judgment, the insight, and the impartiality of his latest work. Where the subject admits of painting, whether it be the forest life, or the American landscape, or the picturesqueness of the natives, he never falls below his theme; and he struck a note in 1851 which is the same that he kept in 1892. The different volumes vary much in their character, but in every case the treatment is adequate and final. In "The Pioneers of France in the New World," the men who laid the foundations for France in Canada, Champlain and his associates, are portrayed so that it seems as if the reader attended them in their discoveries, and the ancient and adventurous life which they lived is revived. "The Jesuits in North America" is a story of wonderful interest and fascination. It could not have been written unless the author had had free access to the Jesuit "Relations," and the strength of the work comes from the fact that he has here told a story almost as it came from the lips of these Jesuit missionaries.

Hardly less graphic and exciting is the volume on "The Discovery of the Great West" in which La Salle is the leading figure, and the story of the discovery of the Mississippi and the Great Lakes is told with wonderful minuteness and care. "The Old Régime in Canada" is among the later volumes the one which most plainly sets forth the French civilization in Canada, and it is that in which Parkman's ability to portray manners and the spirit of the times is seen at its best. The strength and the weakness of the French system in the seventeenth century are here set forth in great detail, and the reasons why it could not succeed stand out in a strong light. "Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV." shows "how valiantly, and for a time how successfully, New France battled against a fate which her own organic fault made inevitable." In this volume the events group themselves about a single figure, "the most remarkable man who ever represented the crown of France in the New World." The next volumes in the series were "Montcalm and Wolfe," in which the historian came finally to deal with the subject which had attracted his attention when his mind was first drawn to the history of the French occupation of the continent. It

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is in this work that Parkman is in contact with a subject which calls forth his full strength. It is not simply in its details that the story impresses one, but in the author's grasp of the situation,—his holding the main lines of the story while the English gradually win in their contests with the French and complete their conquest on the heights of Abraham. In this work he brings the history to an end, but there yet remained "A Half-Century of Conflict" to be covered before the full story could be told, and in the later work the struggle of the rival claimants to North America is set forth, not in its greater movements, but in a series of skirmishes and disputes and small struggles which tired out both parties.

These volumes, taken as a whole, are an authentic and exhaustive history of the French occupation of North America, and they are prepared with such attention to every demand of literary art that the toil of the author is hidden in the grace and ease of his narrative. The style is equally removed from the stately dignity of history and the luxuriance of romance, but the language is the English of our own time, flexible, each word fitly chosen, without exaggeration, or conceit, or straining for effect. It is the style of sincerity, of freedom, of truth. There are no concealments in it. It is the perfection of an historical style which gains the ears of the people. It is picturesque, full of graphic descriptions of nature, giving exact pictures of the forest, the localities, the battlefields, the persons, and the thrilling moments in the narrative, and so effective in its object that the reader is unconscious of its excellence, while under the spell of its power.

Parkman had the gift of the historical imagination, and could reproduce what he saw in his mind so that his readers also could see it. He dwelt so entirely with his subject that he could feel it to his fingers' ends. It inspired and mastered him, and when he attempted to tell the story, he made it as real to the reader as it was to himself. It caught hold of the roots of his mind, and it held him as he holds his readers. He wrote these narratives as the painter fills out his canvas. He put feeling and color into the story, and gave it the lights and shades of actual life, lifting it, as all great literature is lifted, so that it reflects the changes of human conflict as they are seen to-day. The result is that the story is like Shakespeare's plays. It reproduces the past and has the touches of life in it. The history is enjoyed by the young as much as by the scholar, and it enters by right of inheritance into the permanent literature of

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the country. It is work done in simplicity, with power, with an adequate sense of its value, and with a thoroughness that produces the best results. This historical imagination is the rarest of gifts, and it lifts the work of its possessor to the highest plane. Parkman had the power to throw into his story the elements which made it real and graphic, and he felt its meaning so intensely that it throbs and thrills in his narrative and makes it a transcript of actual life. What is remarkable in him as an historian is that this power to infuse his narratives with the passion and excitement of life without apparent effort is almost as prominent in his first volume as in the latest; and yet nearly half a century lies between them.

What Parkman might have done, had he been able to command the full use of his mind, it is useless to inquire; but what he did under the constraint of "repressed activity" by the absolute control of an eager and impulsive temperament, and by the discipline of himself, is more remarkable as an example of what the human will can accomplish when controlled for the highest ends, than his greatness as an historian. Compelled to reserve all his strength for his work, to taste of the pleasures of life as a forbidden luxury, to do constantly what to one of his temperament was the most odious thing to him, and completely to remake himself in order to accomplish what he aimed to do, his fifty years of struggle with an undertaking which only a well man would have dared to enter upon, is one of the boldest, most unflinching, and most heroic achievements on record in the annals of literature. If the story of his life should be written as he lived it, as the mind rose above and controlled the body, it will make one of the most thrilling narratives of heroic effort that has ever been given to the world. No one could know him in the intimacy of friendship without becoming conscious that Francis Parkman had by nature an intellect of the highest order, and that it had been held back from the conflict into which its possessor was as eager to enter as the tiger is to secure its prey. His mind was eager and restless by nature to the last degree. To will a thing with him was to accomplish it, but when he found that his lifework depended upon his self-control, and that it must be only through heroic self-restraint that he could do what he had planned, he had the power of will to yield and to conquer. His achievement was great, but it was produced under difficulties which showed the man to be greater than his work.

JULIUS H. WARD.

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CHILD-STUDY: THE BASIS OF EXACT EDUCATION.

THE study of children is now attempted by very different methods, for purposes quite diverse, and with all degrees of scientific exactness. The points of view here taken, and the literature, now numbering many hundred titles, are so new that I can find nowhere any attempt at a general survey of the various lines of work now under way to aid me in presenting such an outline as the editor of "The Forum" has requested; while new material is accumulating so fast and the future promises so much that any attempt to map out the field even by a text-book could have only temporary value.

That so considerable a part of the work has been done in this country, which, if it has not had a large share in the development of the physical sciences, now shows signs of making up its arrears by advancing several branches of the great science of man, is a fact well befitting a republic, new and without tradition, which most needs to take a fresh, free look at every aspect of human nature, which alone is true and to which school, as well as church, state and family, must conform to be true, good or stable. The future of the movement depends largely upon long, hard work yet to be done and requires the coöperative effort of many people—teachers, parents and men of science, whose efforts may now be coördinated in a national society, the organization of which was projected last July in Chicago.

Most of this vast and growing material has been wrought out by investigators who made little attempt to coördinate their work with what others had done. The doctors, the anthropologists, the psychologists, parents and teachers, have each given little attention to each other's work. We may cross-divide all this work by age into four convenient groups. A—Studies of the human embryo, such as Preyer and others have made. B—Studies of infancy up to the ages of three or four years. Here belongs the work of Preyer, Perez, Compayré, Tracy, Shinn, and many earlier observers. For this work the term Psychogenesis is often used, on the often denied assumption that the fundamental elements of the soul are here being de-

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veloped. C—Many studies have been published of the early years of school life, especially the first. For this period Mr. Chrisman has suggested the term Paidology. D—Lastly, come the studies of youth or adolescent years, beginning at the age of thirteen or fourteen, and lasting perhaps ten years to full maturity or nubility. Here the term Ephebics might do duty till a better one appears.

The vast field here outlined is thus the cycle from adolescence in one generation to adolescence in the next, and is, therefore, coincident with instituted education to which only such studies as these can ever give a scientific or philosophic character. I can here at best only glance at a few of the methods and the most salient results.

In this paper, I pass over the first periods—the embryo, and the period of early childhood up to the ages of three or four years; and I pass to the first years of school life. Special studies of this period are generally averages of tests made upon large numbers of children. The method is simple; if children are to be measured or questioned, they are taken two or three at a time into the dressing room of the school where the calipers are applied for the diameter of head or body, the tape for lengths and circumference, scales for weighing, dynamometers for testing strength, and many other more especial devices; teeth, eyes, lungs, nose, throat, hearing, accuracy and rapidity of movement, etc., are tested with every precaution for uniformity and for the avoidance of error. If knowledge is to be tested, considerable tact and cross-questioning by an expert and sympathetic person is often necessary. Nearly all tests, however, can be made, if suitably directed, by almost any good teacher or parent in a few minutes per child without interrupting the work of the school or in any degree whatever offending the child's delicacy of consciousness. The digesting and presentation of these returns, when very voluminous, is sometimes a difficult matter. Just what rubrics should be chosen, how the tables and the curves should be presented, especially the value and treatment of variations from the average, involve often the most complex methods of the statistician. The value of Galton's method of percentile grades, of equations estimating the thickness of shoes and clothing, the interpretation of unexpected results, the value of exceptions, involve technical expertness.

A new and simpler method devised by Principal E. H. Russell of Worcester, Mass., eight years ago, has worked well with Normal

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students. He does not limit the field of observation by proposing definite lines or points of inquiry; any salient act or remark of a child is noted in the most accurate and objective way. These records are filed in groups under convenient headings, like, memory, imagination, anger, deceit, egotism, etc. These topics cover the whole field of psychology and the best of these records are used in teaching it in the place of a text-book. Instead of tabulating them Mr. Russell has begun to publish, perhaps 14,000 of them, as they stand, where they can be cited by anyone as like book, chapter, and verse of the Bible, *e.g.* Imagination, series 3, No. 278—

> Boy, Irish æ. 7. Stood drinking water at a sink with his back to other people. Was making believe to be drinking in a saloon with his feet crossed and remarking on the quality of the drink to the imaginary bar-keeper. Paid imaginary money and received imaginary change.

The collection of such data has had excellent effect upon teachers. They tend to focus effort upon individual children rather than upon the "pedagogic phantom called The Child." Like all such studies made by teachers or parents, the best result is for them; and Mr. Russell adopts the statement that the practice of child-study is directly for the sake of the teacher, indirectly for the sake of the child, and incidentally for the sake of science.

Passing to results, we will begin with measurements. The first notable studies here since Quetelet were by Professor H. P. Bowditch who took weight and height of 24,500 Boston pupils. He found that until the age of eleven or twelve boys were taller and heavier than girls. The girls then begin to grow very rapidly and for the next few years surpass boys in both height and weight. The boys, however, overtake and pass them soon after and remain taller and heavier. He found children of American parents taller and heavier than children of foreign parents, and urged that mental effort be reduced during the period of most rapid growth. The sons of non-laboring parents are taller and heavier than those of laboring parents. Dr. G. W. Peckham measured about 10,000 children in Milwaukee and found urban life less favorable to stature than rural life, and greater growth from May to November than during the rest of the year.

Far more complicated measurements have since been made in many places by many observers; especially those made under the direction of our most expert American anthropometrist Dr. F. Boas, who reports growth statistics from six large American cities, 30,000

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children being measured in St. Louis alone. Many of these measurements were quite complicated, involving breadth and width of skull, finger-reach, etc. Many of the results were presented in the Anthropological Section at the Chicago Exposition and will doubtless be published later. Among these results it was found *e.g.* that the heads of girls are a little rounder than those of boys and always a little smaller, absolutely and in proportion to stature, except when growth ceases, at which time boys' heads are proportionately smaller than girls'. Girls have wider faces than boys during their twelfth year. Boston children are a little less favorably developed than the average American child. Dr. G. M. West very carefully measured 3,250 children in Worcester, Mass., taking six measurements on each child, which confirm older results and formulate new ones concerning the relation of standing to sitting height and some of the cerebral indices. Axel Key concluded from 18,000 subjects that boys pass three distinct periods of growth, a moderate increase in the sixth and seventh years, a weaker growth from the ninth to the thirteenth, and a much greater one from the fourteenth to the sixteenth year. Other results suggest seventeen as a stationary year. Malling Hansen found that children grow little from the end of November to the end of March; grow tall but increase little in weight from March till August, and increase mainly in weight and little in height from August to November. During this latter period the daily increase in weight is often three times as much as during the winter. Many now believe that growth focusses now upon one set of organs and functions and now upon another. The eye, hand and arm, voice, chest, and other centres and functions seem to have a "nascent period" during which they grow far more than for a long time before or after.

The pedagogic utilization of these inductions is yet more obscure than they are unsettled; some think that during rapid general growth instruction should be general, suggestive, and call for little exactness or effort of will; that then new ideas are best grasped, but best worked out at other times. Again, if a law of nascent periods were established it would give a natural basis for all curricula. Before its major period, eye, hand, or voice, etc., are easily overstrained; after it they can endure sometimes many times the work, and, if proper increase of work is lacking, they may be forever dwarfed. Certain it is that periods of exceptional growth require exceptional treatment; it is no less certain that arrested growth out of due season is one of

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the surest and earliest signs of disease. Growth and liability to illness seem almost inversely to each other. We now want more detailed measurements of size and function of different parts of the body, head, hands, etc., and more measurements of individual children continued for a long term of years. Young children differ relatively in their mode of growth, and when older they grow very differently according to race, climate, nationality. From measurements of over 30,000 children, W. E. Porter shows that precocious children are heavier and dull children lighter than the mean child of the same age, thus establishing a physical basis of precocity and dulness.

Closely connected with size is muscular control. The most important and systematic research made in this field is Bryan's study of the development of motor ability. He selected the maximum rate of rhythmic vibratory movements and precision as to direction and force, and studied the growth of these powers through grades of the grammar school. These movements underlie writing, drawing, and manual exercises. His data measured the advantage of the right hand over the left, of boys over girls, found the change due to fatigue far greater than the improvement due to age, found that the average child of sixteen could tap or trill about five times as fast as one of six; and he found that the rate of this motion declined at fourteen in boys and thirteen in girls but was preceded by a rapid increase in growth and followed by a less rapid increase. Hand-power seemed to grow faster than arm-power between these years. The power of making precise movements varies much more and seems to suggest distinctions between normal and morbid. Maximum contractions with one hand seemed not to increase but to diminish the same movement with the other. Binet has studied reaction-times, walking automatism, bilateral movements, etc., in children. It is, however, in this field of motor function, so newly opened, that work is now most of all needed to give a natural basis for gymnastics and manual training. Of children's power of rhythm no good study has yet been made. Of the many comparative studies of the functions of the two halves of the body, Dr. Leichtenstein's and Cahen-Brach's are perhaps most practical. When we reflect that muscular education ought largely to precede mental training, especially since thought is coming to be regarded as repressed muscle-action, and recall the momentous law that all powers are developed before the ability to control or restrain them unfolds, and when we consider the

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many and common slight disorders of motor ability among our American children, we realize how practical are tests like these.

Passing next to medical studies of school children, we can only sample a very vast and growing body of studies. It is now ten years since Dr. Cohn proved, from tests of 10,000 children in Breslau, that myopia increased from grade to grade. Many such tests since, although they differ very greatly in different countries, show an increase of eye troubles sometimes reaching over forty per cent in the high school, a good part of which we must ascribe to bad light, type, and overuse of the eye in its monotonous zig-zag along the tread-mill-like lines of the printed page.

With the ear, on which almost as many studies have been made and are now collected in a monograph by Chrisman, the case is very different and the trouble less serious. The chief result is here the discovery that large numbers of children whose hearing, although never called defective, is so dull as to seriously mar the efficacy of most oral teaching, are called backward when they are simply a little deaf. Reichard found that twenty-two per cent of the children of Riga could not hear a clock tick more than twenty feet away, while the rest could hear it all the way to sixty feet away. In 1867 Miss Wiltse tested many hundred Boston school children for sound-blindness and found very variable but large proportions who could not hear correctly very many of the elementary sounds in our language. Since then many tests have been made in many places with analogous results, due to defective training quite as much as to original defect. In Berlin aurists report that twenty-five per cent of children tested had more or less defective hearing, in most cases enough to interfere with their work.

Although taste and smell have never been very fully studied by themselves, there has been a large number of observations since 1868 which show nasal diseases that seem to be strangely associated with weakness of memory and attention, to be more common than had been supposed. The result of the removal of adenoid growths or enlarged tonsils, which Kafemann found in over seven per cent of boys and ten per cent of girls was remarkable. Easement of brain and of articulation sometimes causes children thought feeble minded to show great mental power. Dr. Klaussner just reports examinations of the spinal column of 2,124 children in Munich and thinks he found traces of rickets in thirty-six per cent of the boys and thirty per cent of the girls of the lower class, so that the disease was not due to

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school but showed great sensitiveness of the spine; and lateral curvature was more frequent in girls. The hygienic inspectors of Berlin reported ninety per cent of the girls in higher educational institutions more or less lop-sided. Bystroffs now reports that eleven and six-tenths per cent out of 7,478 school children of St. Petersburg are subject to headache. Of a large number of school children in London whose teeth have been examined only about twenty-six per cent were found without serious defect. Dr. Erismann finds among the school children of Hamburg thirty-two per cent with abnormal nervous systems and these disorders increase up the grades. Kollmann has just surveyed all the studies made in this field and concludes that about thirty per cent of the school children in Europe have abnormal nervous systems, and that beginning with almost nothing in the lowest class the abnormal percentage reaches nearly sixty-six in the last gymnasium year. There is also a small but dismal literature on insanity among school children, and the royal statistical bureau in Berlin found that in five years 289 pupils had committed suicide, the majority of them for school causes. The reports on chorea and other common nervous affections by Dr. Sturges of London suggest how the strain of school work comes chiefly on the nervous system. Dr. Comby observed 40,000 diseased children and concludes that in the country they pass through growing fits with less danger than in the city, and that school life increases this danger. A recent English commission concludes that boys are most prone to irregular development and brain disturbance, and girls to be pale, delicate, and anæmic, and finds day pupils healthier than boarders. Nervous children are most impatient of restraint, and the statistics of the German Empire show an increase of crime between 1883 and 1889 of eighty-four per cent between twelve and fifteen years of age, showing among the 30,000 criminal youth of Germany an alarming increase among the youngest class. Dr. H. L. Taylor of New York says our cities are a kind of biological furnace, that the city child leads the life of a trainsman, that its nerves are ever fiddled on, it has too much sweet, and too high temperatures, destroying the power to face hardship or difficulty.

In this connection the recent studies of fatigue should be mentioned. Some now say that most diseases have their genesis in fatigue. There is no doubt that constant tension kills not only joy but growth, and the arts of rest are almost becoming a science. Galton's questions to English teachers showed the most common results of school fatigue to be (a) temporary color blindness (b) loss

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of memory of common things (c) slowing of reaction times. The best study yet is that of Burgerstein who tested classes of children for four periods of ten minutes each, with five minutes rest between each period. He found a marked falling off in the third period as measured by errors in the work and rate, and between the work in the morning and after four or five hours of instruction, a decline in accuracy of thirty-three per cent. If his results are confirmed, they suggest a redistribution of the working time, especially for young classes. Work with dulled mind breeds all bad mental habits.

These are but a small fraction of the many such studies lately made, and they have led to wild inferences. We must remember that very many children would be sickly anyway, and that there are very many other causes of sickness besides school. But, on the other hand, as shown by many tests, school-house air and bacteria,—even in floor cracks and in the children's finger nails—the defective light in some parts of most school rooms, unphysiological seats, the monotonous strain upon fingers in writing and upon the eye, the necessity of sitting still as the basis of school work, when activity is the very essence of childhood, the worry of examinations, memory-cram and bad methods, are, one and all, more or less morbific.

The modern school is now the most widely extended institution the world has ever seen, and it was never so fast extending as at present. North Africa, New Zealand, Egypt, Finland, and many till lately barbarous lands, under the present colonial policies, have developed elaborate school systems. The juvenile world now goes to school and has its brain titillated and tattooed, and we have entirely forgotten that men have been not only good citizens but great, who were in idyllic ignorance of even the belauded invention of Cadmus. Now, if this tremendous school engine, in which everybody believes now with a catholic consensus of belief perhaps never before attained, is in the least degree tending to deteriorate mankind physically, it is bad. Knowledge bought at the expense of health, which is wholeness or holiness itself in its higher aspect, is not worth what it costs. Health conditions all the highest joys of life, means full maturity, national prosperity. May we not reverently ask, What shall it profit a child if he gain the whole world of knowledge and lose his health, or what shall he give in exchange for his health?

That this is coming to be felt is seen in the rapidly growing systems of school excursions, school baths, school gardens, school lunches, provisions for gymnastics of the various schools, medical

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inspection, school polyclinics, all of which have lately been repeatedly prescribed and officially normalized. Not all, but many of these are quite new. Here, too, must be placed the interesting tendency to introduce old English sports and even Greek games; the careful psychological study of toys, and the several toy-expositions lately held in Europe; the new hygienic laws concerning school grounds and buildings, and occasionally books; the rapid growth of vertical script because it requires an erect attitude; new methods of manual and physical training which recognize the difference between the *fundamental*, finer, later and more peripheral *accessory* movements. To select from all these, one, namely medical inspection of schools—this is perhaps nowhere carried farther than in some wards of Paris where young physicians inspect eyes, ears, and digestion of each child and note in a health-book suggestions to both parents and teachers as to diet, regimen, exercise, and studies, besides inspecting the buildings and grounds. The assumption is that all must be judged from the standpoint of health, and that an educational system must make children better, and not worse, in health.

The first study on the contents of children's minds was made in Berlin in 1869 and showed an astonishing ignorance of things every child ought and was supposed to know. By the liberality of Mrs. Quincy Shaw I was enabled to make comprehensive studies in 1880 of a large number of Boston children just after they had entered the lowest grade of the primary school. The tactful and experienced questioners were convinced that fourteen per cent of these six-year old children had never seen the stars and had no idea about them; that thirty-five per cent had never been into the country; that twenty per cent did not know that milk came from cows; fifty-five per cent did not know that wooden things came from trees; that from thirteen to fifteen per cent did not know the colors, green, blue and yellow, by name; that forty-seven per cent had never seen a pig; sixty per cent had never seen a robin; from thirteen to eighteen per cent did not know where their cheek, forehead or throat was, and fewer yet knew elbow, wrist, ribs, etc. More than three-fourths of all the children had never seen to know them any of the common cereals, trees, or vegetables growing. These subjects were chosen because most of them constitute the material of school primers or elementary instruction which this new science of ignorance shows must make mere verbal cram of much matter of instruction. What idea can

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the eighteen per cent of children who thought a cow no larger than its picture get from all instruction about hide, horns, milk, etc.? Country children excel in this kind of knowledge, and, while they know less, know it better and have greater power of concentration. In Annaberg, Germany, careful and repeated studies of such general and local items, about one hundred in all, like the Boston tests, are now made the natural basis of the school work of the first year or two. Color tests have been made by H. K. Wolfe, Professor Barnes, Mrs. Hicks, and others. Wolfe examined many children between five and seventeen years of age as to power of discriminating and naming colors, and found the order of knowledge to be white, black, red, blue, yellow, green, pink, orange, violet.

Here, too, might be mentioned the interesting studies on colored hearing and number forms by Miss Calkins and others, on the individuality of numerals by Miss Whiting, which not only explain anomalies more common than was thought but tell how to meet them; and the statistical study of six species of lies children are prone to. T. L. Bolton tested memory-span for numbers up to nine places and found that memory-span increased with age rather than intelligence, that it was better in girls than boys, that it measures power of prolonged and concentrated attention, that the first stage of forgetfulness is loss of order, that if the number of ideas is too great it is overestimated and that they are forgotten inversely as they are removed from the beginning of the series.

The theological and religious life of children has been investigated in large numbers of children. These studies show that the sky is the chief field for religious ideas, that God, angels, heaven, are very distinctly imagined, connected with stars, clouds and thunder in the most material way. For example, God is a big blue man who pours rain out of big buckets, thumps clouds to make thunder, puts the sun and moon to bed, takes dead people, birds and even broken dolls up there, distributes babies, and is closely related to Santa Claus. This infant philosophy although intimidated and broken through at every point and on the ebb at the beginning of school life, is very persistent, though as hard for an adult to get at as for an electric light to study shadows. Barnes found that from seven to ten years of age there began to be occasional vague questionings and doubts about early conceptions which had hitherto been accepted without question or comment, that doubt grew with age and culminated at the age of thirteen or fourteen when criticism was more severe than

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later. Barnes has studied also the delicate subject of feelings and ideas of sex in children. Miss A. E. Wyckoff has studied constitutionally bad spellers.

This entire class of studies shows how easily school-work may miscarry, how supremely important the imagination is for this stage of child life, how large a part imitation and the struggle to be and do like older people play. The work of Mr. Russell, which is described above, belongs here and promises to be of great value. We want also minute objective studies, such as any intelligent mother or teacher could make if they would focus their attention on one subject, such as fear, shame, anger, pity, the phenomena of crying, unusual manifestations of will, traits made worse or better by school, effects of defect and physical malformation, of wise or unwise religious teaching, or any of the remarkable periodicities so common and described by Siegert, who thinks every kind of growth is zig-zag toward its goal, and that bright children have periods of muddle. We cannot here speak of exceptional children or pedagogical pathology, as it has been called by Strumpel, and worked out by Nicolay, Siegert, and others, nor of the studies made upon blind, deaf, idiot, criminal children; these last would make a chapter by themselves. Human nature at this stage is so vastly complex that only those of unusual attainments and genius can study it as a whole. It is clear that boys and girls are now being understood in a new light which may lead to much reconstruction of school methods and matter.

Passing now to the ephebic stage of youth we find that adolescence is a physiological second-birth; new traits and diseases, organs, and cells are developed; boys and girls become independent, must devote themselves to others and to causes; the life of the individual terminates and that of the race begins; the religious sense is deepened, and almost every religious cult has marked this period by its most solemn ceremonials. Dr. Burnham has well stated the great increase of vitality and energy at this period when nature gives man his capital of life force, and Dr. Daniels has now shown both by statistics and psychology how closely it is related to regeneration, in a religious sense. The great danger is that the lower elements will be developed in excess or disproportion. But nothing is so educable as love. It can attach itself, as recent morbid studies show, to almost any act or object; it can suck up all that is vile in the environment, or it can climb Godward up the stages of a heavenly ladder, as Plato describes in the "Symposium." Excitement young men must have, which like

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a breeze swelling new sails brings the new nerve tissue and faculties into activity without which they atrophy. If there is no enthusiasm, deep and strong interests in intellectual and moral fields, passion is stronger. The two are in a sense physiological or kinetic equivalents, and if the young man vents this erethic tendency during the adolescent decade in drink or vice, he will really be, as so many youth absurdly affect, apathetic, stoical, indifferent, and ashamed of enthusiasm. Alas for our academic youth if they lose freshness, and *naiveté*, and college freshmen become poised men of the world instead of being a little green and awkward. It is to be hoped that those who think that there is an increase of vice among boys in our high and preparatory schools in recent years, are mistaken.

Very few systematic studies have been made of collegians in this country, except the systematic weighing and measuring connected with gymnastics. Mr. Drew collected 356 love poems in student papers and published interesting figures of the features and traits of the beloved most often referred to. Eleven professors in larger Eastern colleges asked their seniors to answer four questions concerning their philosophical electives, points of interest therein, etc.; the returns are full of interest but cannot be presented in any composite-portrait way. College sentiment and opinion seem to be more and more influential; college teams and captains can keep order where faculties fail; student ideals are the best material for prophecy. The student chooses for himself not only what to study but whether to study or not. Inside academic administration is a kind of psychological engineering applied to the sentiments and ideals of later adolescence. A body of select young men taught by select professors, exempt from all practical life, brought in contact with the choicest minds of all time, ought to exhibit in the spontaneous drift of their disinterested ideals the dominant drift of the *volks*-soul; with a peculiar fascination, all their own, they are perhaps most of all things in the world interesting and worthy of study. Student life has its own laws quite apart from a curriculum and is for many more important than it. If its tone deteriorates, as it does in occasional periods and institutions, the whole *morale* of the place may decay.

This paper closes with a practical suggestion for farther work here—that one or two of the largest colleges cause a well trained and tactful man to devote his time to the study and improvement of college life, calling freely upon others to coöperate. Abundant material for a study of the natural history of students is afforded by

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the more than 200 college periodicals now published in this country. Sentiment and custom might be acted on by occasional lectures on the history of student life from the Middle Ages down. The corps, codes of honor, fraternities, sports, occupations, etc.; the tabulation of choices of study with reasons therefor; essays, and now the daily themes as at Harvard, the religious life and needs of students—a new problem lately forced upon many college preachers; and, above all, habitual intimacy with students and personal acquaintance on the ball ground and in the study;—these suggest a new field and method which might be called the higher anthropology.

G. STANLEY HALL.

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ISRAEL AMONG THE NATIONS.

AMONG the strange and unforeseen developments that have characterized the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century, few are likely to be regarded by the future historian with a deeper or more melancholy interest than the anti-Semite movement, which has swept with such a portentous rapidity over a great part of Europe. It has produced in Russia by far the most serious religious persecution of the century. It has raged fiercely in Roumania, the other great centre of the Oriental Jews. In enlightened Germany it has become a considerable parliamentary force. In Austria it counts among its adherents men of the highest social station. Even France, which from the days of the Revolution has been specially distinguished for its liberality to the Jews, has not escaped the contagion. General Boulanger found the anti-Jewish sentiment sufficiently powerful to make an appeal to it one of the articles of his programme, and the extraordinary popularity of the writings of Drumont shows that Boulanger had not altogether miscalculated its force.

It is this movement which has been the occasion of the very valuable work of M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu on "Israel among the Nations." The author, who is universally recognized as one of the greatest of living political writers, has special qualifications for his task. With an exceedingly wide knowledge of the literature relating to his subject he combines much personal knowledge of the Jews in Palestine and in many other countries, and especially in those countries where the persecution has most furiously raged.

That persecution, he justly says, unites in different degrees three of the most powerful elements that can move mankind—the spirit of religious intolerance; the spirit of exclusive nationality; and the jealousy which springs from trade or mercantile competition. Of these elements M. Leroy-Beaulieu considers the first to be on the whole the weakest. In that hideous Russian persecution which "the New Exodus" of Frederic has made familiar to the English reader, the religious element certainly occupies a very leading place. Pobedonosteff, who shares with his master the chief guilt and infamy of

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this atrocious crime, belongs to the same type as the Torquemadas of the past, and the spirit that animates him has entered largely into the anti-Semite movement in other lands. The "Gloria" of Galdos, perhaps the most powerful religious novel of our time, describes the conflict in modern Spain of the fanaticism of Catholicism with the fanaticism of Judaism. Even the old calumny that the Jews are accustomed at Easter to murder Christian children in order to mix their blood with the passover bread, is still living in many parts of Europe. M. Leroy-Beaulieu has collected much curious evidence on the subject. It is a calumny which appears first to have become popular about 1100 A.D. It is embodied in a well-known tale of Chaucer. It is the subject of one of the great frescos that were painted around the Cathedral of Toledo to commemorate the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Two Popes of the thirteenth century, to their great honor, declared its falsehood and by the order of Benedict XIV., Ganganelli wrote a full memoir examining and refuting it. But in spite of all condemnations, in spite of many exposures in the law courts it is still a popular belief in Russia, Poland, Roumania, Hungary, and Bohemia, and even within the last ten years it has been the direct cause of many outrages against the Jews.

Another element to which M. Leroy-Beaulieu attaches considerable importance is the Kultur Kampf in Germany. When the German Government was engaged in its fierce struggle with the Catholics, these endeavored to effect a diversion and to avenge themselves on papers, which were largely in the hands of Jews, by raising a new cry. They declared that a Kultur Kampf was indeed needed, but that it should be directed against the alien people who were undermining the moral foundations of Christian societies; who were the implacable enemies of the Christian creed and of Christian ideals. The cry was soon taken up by a large body of Evangelical Protestants. The "Germania" and the "Civilta Cattolica," which were the chief organs of Ultramontanism in Germany and Italy, and the "Kreuz Zeitung," which represented the strictest forms of German Protestantism, agreed in fomenting it.

Still more powerful, in the opinion of our author, has been the spirit of intense and exclusive nationality which has in the present generation arisen in so many countries and which seeks to expel all alien or heterogeneous elements, and to mould the whole national being into a single definite type. The movement has been still further strengthened by the greater keenness of trade competition.

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In the midst of many idle, drunken and ignorant populations the shrewd, thrifty and sober Jew stands conspicuous as the most successful trader. His rare power of judging, influencing and managing men, his fertility of resource, his indomitable perseverance and industry continually force him into the foremost rank and he is prominent in occupations which excite much animosity. The tax-gatherer, the agent, the middleman, and the money-lender are very commonly of Jewish race and great Jewish capitalists largely control the money markets of Europe at a time when capital is the special object of socialistic attacks.

The most valuable portion of this work is, I think, that examining the part which the Jewish race is now playing in the world, and tracing the action of historical causes on the formation of their character. On the old problem of the continued existence of the race through so many ages M. Leroy-Beaulieu has much to say. He reminds us that in the East the idea of nationality is habitually absorbed in the idea of religion and that there are many examples of the long survival of peoples or tribes which have lost their political individuality. He instances the Copts of Egypt, the Maronites and Druses of Lebanon, the Parsees of India, the Armenians and Greeks of Asia as displaying, though in a less degree, the same phenomenon as the Jews. He attributes the long continuance of the Jews as a separate people mainly to two causes. One of them is Christian hatred which compelled the Jews for many centuries to remain a separate people, unmixed with surrounding nations; living in a separate quarter; marrying among themselves; strengthened and disciplined in the struggle of life by enormous difficulties and by the constant elimination through persecution of the weaker elements. The other is the very elaborate Jewish ritual extending to all departments of life which has stamped upon them an intensely distinctive character.

The force of these causes is undoubted, but they are not, I think, the only elements to be considered. M. Leroy-Beaulieu appears to me to have somewhat underrated the physiological force and tenacity of the Jewish race-type. Following the line of reasoning of a remarkable essay of Renan he shows very clearly that the modern Jews are far from being pure Semites. He proves from Josephus and from other sources that there was a considerable period, both before and after the Christian era, when great numbers of Greeks, Latins, and Egyptians adopted the Jewish faith; that much alien blood

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afterward poured into the race through conversions among the barbarians and through the circumcision of the slaves of Jewish masters, and that there is even reason to believe that, in some periods of history, marriages with Christians were not infrequent. It is probable, however, that most alien elements that were introduced into the race sooner or later mingled with the old stock, and no fact is more clearly shown than the extraordinary power of the Jewish type to survive and dominate in a mixed race. A single instance of a marriage with a Jewess will be sufficient to perpetuate it in a family for many generations. In this fact the Jews possess an element of stability which is wholly independent of all considerations of creed and ritual. Few things are more curious than the effect of persecution on the Jewish element in Spain and Portugal. . Tens of thousands of Jews in those countries were burned at the stake or driven into exile, but great numbers also conformed. They mixed in a few generations with the old Christian population, and Spain and Portugal, M. Leroy-Beaulieu truly says, are now among the countries in which the Jewish blood is most evidently and most widely diffused.

Another consideration, which M. Leroy-Beaulieu has omitted to mention, but which appears to me to have much weight, is the condemnation of lending money at interest by the Church. This condemnation which lasted many centuries had two important consequences. One of them was that the Jews became almost the only money-lenders in Europe. The trade was deemed sinful for a Christian, but it was found to be a very necessary one; and the Jews, (as some Catholic theologians observed) being already damned, were allowed to practise it. The other consequence was that on account of the stigma which the Church attached to money-lending, the amount of money to be lent was greatly diminished, or, in other words, the rate of interest was enormously and artificially raised. At a time, therefore, when Catholic intolerance made it impossible for the Jews to mingle with and be absorbed in surrounding nations they acquired one of the greatest elements of power and stability that a race can possess—a monopoly of the most lucrative trade in the world.

The physical characteristics of the race are very remarkable and they are especially displayed among the Eastern Jews who still maintain scrupulously amid poverty and persecution the religious observances of their ancestors. It is now clearly shown that the Levitical code was in a high degree hygienic, and even anticipates some of the discoveries of modern physiology. Prescriptions about forbidden

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kinds of food and about the mode of cooking food which only excited the ridicule of Voltaire have a real hygienic value in the eyes of Claude Bernard and of Pasteur. The Jews have never adopted the Catholic notions about the sanctity of celibacy and virginity, but they lay great stress on the purity of marriage. Although they live chiefly in towns, illegitimate births are proportionately rarer among them than among either Protestants or Catholics. They have been as a rule singularly free from the kinds of vice that do most to enfeeble and corrode a race. They are distinguished for their domestic virtues, especially for care of their children, and they are nearly everywhere less addicted than Christian nations to intoxicating drinks. These things help to explain the curious fact that in nearly all countries the average duration of life is considerably longer among Jews than among Christians. This superiority is general but, as M. Leroy-Beaulieu observes, it tends to diminish in Western countries where Jews being freed from disabilities are more assimilated to the surrounding populations. They now usually marry later than Christians; they have on the whole fewer children, but a proportionately larger number of Jewish than of Christian infants attain adult age. M. Leroy-Beaulieu mentions two curious facts which are less easy to explain. Still-born births are very rare among Jews, and there is among them a wholly abnormal preponderance of male births over female ones.

It might be supposed from these facts that the Jews were a robust race, but no one who has come much in contact with them will share this delusion. Nothing is more conspicuous among them than their unhealthy coloring, their frail, bent, and feeble bodies. They develop early, but they have very little of the spring and buoyancy of youth and they have everywhere a low average of physical strength. Malformations and deformities are common among them; their nervous organization is extremely sensitive, and though they are as a race distinguished for their sound, clear and practical judgment, they are very liable to insanity and to other nervous and brain disorders. Physical beauty as well as physical strength is much rarer among them than among Christians.

The causes of this inferiority may be easily explained. Life pursued during many generations in the crowded Ghetto; the sordid habits that grow out of extreme poverty and out of the assumption of the appearance of poverty, which is natural in a persecuted and plundered race, go far to explain it; but there is another and, I think,

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a more important cause which M. Leroy-Beaulieu has rather strangely neglected. Physical strength and beauty can be maintained at a high level in crowded town populations only by a constant influx from the country. The pure air and the healthy labor of the fields are their main source. This great school of health the Jews have never known. For many centuries it would have been impossible for them to have lived in peace as farmers or agricultural laborers among a Christian peasantry, and if they ever possessed any aptitude or taste for agricultural pursuits they have long since wholly lost it.

Their moral like their physical characteristics present strange contrasts. No natural want of moral elevation or tenderness or grace can be ascribed to the nation that has produced both the Old Testament and the Gospels and has most largely shaped and inspired the moral life of the civilized world. In Christian times no race has maintained its faith with a more devoted courage, and it has encountered and survived persecutions before which the persecutions of other creeds dwindle almost into insignificance. M. Leroy-Beaulieu quotes the statement of the grand Rabbi Lehmann that it is a clearly attested fact that in two months of the year 1096 twelve thousand Jews, whose names have been preserved, were massacred in the towns of the Rhine alone, because they refused to accept a Christian baptism. The Spanish Jews who perished by one of the most excruciating deaths rather than forswear their faith may be numbered by thousands, and those who preferred exile and spoliation to apostasy, by hundreds of thousands. Even in our own sceptical and materializing age the conduct of the Russian Jews under the recent savage persecution shows that the old spirit is not extinct. In the face of the long and splendid roll of Jewish heroism it is idle to dwell on the fact that in each great persecution some Jews have yielded to the fear of death and consented to perform the rites of a faith which they inwardly abhorred, or on the fact that a few Rabbis have under such circumstances justified these feigned conversions.

Prolonged persecution, however, has had a profound influence on their character and its influence in some respects has been very pernicious. Hatred naturally provokes hatred, and violent oppression against which there is no redress is naturally encountered by subterfuge and fraud. A race who were for centuries playing their part in life against overwhelming obstacles learned to avail themselves of every advantage. Adulation, servility, falsehood and deception became common among them. They became at once hard, wily and

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rapacious, and ready instruments in ignoble and oppressive callings. Shut out from open paths and honorable ambitions they haunted the obscurer by ways of industry; they were to be found in many occupations which sharpen the intellect but blunt the moral sense, and they threw themselves passionately into the acquisition of wealth and of secret power. Exposed for generations even in lands where they were not more seriously persecuted to constant insult and contempt, they often lost their self-respect and learned to acquiesce tamely in what another race would resent. Slavish conditions produced, as they always do, slavish characteristics and, as is always the case, those characteristics did not at once disappear when the conditions that produced them had altered.

M. Leroy-Beaulieu has dwelt with much force on this subject, and he ascribes considerable weight to the fact that the Jews have been wholly outside the system of feudalism and chivalry in which the modern conception of honor was chiefly formed. Perhaps the Jew might retort with some justice that he has had at least the compensating moral advantage of having derived no part of his notions of right and wrong from a Church in which such an institution as the Spanish inquisition was deemed a holy thing.

Defects of another kind have contributed largely to his unpopularity. Great as is the power of assimilation which the Jewish race possesses, the charm and grace of manner seem to have been among the qualities they most slowly and most imperfectly acquire. It is natural that men who have been excluded from honors but not from wealth should value money and the ostentatious display of riches more than their neighbors. In the professions in which the Jews chiefly excel men rise most rapidly from low origin and culture to conspicuous wealth. Direct money-making has some tendency to materialize and lower the character, and Jews have been for generations prominent in occupations which do much to impair those delicacies of feeling on which the charm of manner largely depends. Besides this, as M. Leroy-Beaulieu truly remarks, though the oldest of the cultured races they are a race of *parvenus* in the good society of Europe. In nearly all countries they have till very recently been excluded from the kind of society and from the kind of education in which the best manners are formed. The exaggerations of bad taste; the love of the loud, the gaudy, the ostentatious and the meretricious; the awkwardness of men who are ill at ease in an unaccustomed sphere, who have not yet mastered the happy mean

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between arrogance and obsequiousness and who are therefore somewhat prone to both extremes, still frequently characterize them. Few persons who know Germany will doubt that the tone of manners of the German Jews has contributed quite as much as any other cause to their unpopularity.

It is probable that these defects will gradually diminish and it would be a grave error to regard the Jewish race as wholly devoted to material ends. The multitude of their martyrs is a sufficient answer to the charge, and no people cherish more strongly the ideals of their past and have more of the pride both of race and of creed. They have at all times, as M. Leroy-Beaulieu observes, been distinguished for their reverence for learning, and it is an undoubted fact that Jewish families and families mixed with Jewish blood have produced an amount and variety of ability that far exceed the average of men. The ability goes rather with the race than with the religion. Spinoza, Heine, Ricardo and D'Israeli—to quote but a few of the most illustrious names—were not believers in the synagogue. Some of the forms in which the Jews have most excelled are such as might have been expected from their past. It is natural that the descendants of the most nomadic and cosmopolitan of races should have been great masters of language and in the foremost rank of philologists, and it is not surprising that the descendants of the chief money-lenders and calculators of the world should have produced great financiers, and have shown a very eminent aptitude for mathematics. Medicine more than most professions depends on individual ability and has been exercised independently of the favor of churches and governments, and in medicine the Jews were for a long period preëminent. Their marked taste and turn for music may appear more surprising. It is universally recognized and is sufficiently evident to any one who will look at the faces of the chief orchestras of Europe. Among a crowd of lesser names they have produced among composers, Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, and Halévy, and among contemporary performers Rubinstein, Joachim, Hermann Levy and Lucca. A Jewess is the most popular tragic actress on the contemporary stage, and another Jewess was probably the greatest tragic actress of the century. M. Leroy-Beaulieu notices that in painting and sculpture the Jews have been less conspicuous and he attributes this to their horror of idolatry. I should rather ascribe it to the fact that European art in its best period was mainly devoted to depicting Christian subjects for Christian churches. At all

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events several considerable Jewish names may be cited in contemporary art and the Dutch painter who bears the name of Israels is perhaps the greatest living master of the pathetic in painting. In Western Europe wherever public life has been opened to them, Jews have thrown themselves into almost all the great movements of their time and have distinguished themselves in nearly all. Crémieux, who was a leading figure in the French Republic of 1848, was a Jew both by birth and by creed. David Manin and Léon Gambetta had Jewish blood in their veins. Lassalle and Marx the chief names in German socialism as well as great numbers of their followers belong to the same race, and more than one English example of political eminence will occur to the reader. In both German and Dutch literature Jewish names are frequent and they are nearly everywhere prominent in journalism. In the army they have been much less distinguished. Many Jews no doubt serve in the great continental armies with honor, but the Jew is naturally a pacific being, hating violence and recoiling with a peculiar horror from blood. The beneficence of the Jew was for a long time very naturally confined to his own race, but since the hand of persecution has been withdrawn, and wherever the Jews have been suffered to mingle freely with the Christian population, it has taken a wider range and Jewish names are conspicuous in some of the best forms of unsectarian philanthropy.

It is the evident tendency of modern political life to split up into a number of distinct groups representing distinct interests or forms of thought. We find a Catholic party, a Non-Conformist party, a Labor party, a Socialist party, a Temperance party, and many others. But in spite of the crusade that has arisen in so many countries against the Jews we nowhere find a distinct and clearly defined Jewish party. The tendency of the race is rather to throw themselves ardently into existing movements and their power of assimilation is one of their most remarkable gifts. As M. Leroy-Beaulieu shows by many illustrations they are apt in most Western nations even to exaggerate the national characteristics, though they usually combine with them a certain flexibility of adaptation and a certain cosmopolitanism of view which is essentially their own.

It was inevitable that with such tendencies the old rigidity of creed should be impaired and that the observances which completely severed the Jew from other people should be discarded. There can be little doubt that the dissolution of old beliefs which has been such a marked and ominous characteristic of the latter half of the nine-

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teenth century has been even more common among the Western Jews than in Christian nations, and it appears to have spread quite as rapidly among the women as among the men. Many Jews have passed into complete religious indifference—into absolute and often very cynical negation. They have become, as Sheridan wittily said, like the blank page between the Old and the New Testament. Others have taken refuge in a kind of highly rationalized Judaism little different from pure Theism. Some of the most independent, scientific and trenchant criticism of the Old Testament writings has proceeded from members of the race which was once distinguished for the most complete and superstitious worship of the letter of the law. Spinoza in his "*Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*" led the way in this path, and in our own day I need only mention the writings of Salvador, Kalisch and Darmesteter and the remarkable Hibbert Lectures of Mr. Montefiore.

This movement, however, is chiefly confined to the Western Jews. The Oriental Jews have retained in a far greater measure their old creed and ritual, their old fanaticism and aspirations. To them Palestine is still the land of promise, and they still dream that it is destined to become once more a Jewish state. Few persons who consider the conditions of the East and the power of the Jewish race will pronounce the realization of this dream to be impossible or even in a very high degree improbable. Perhaps the most formidable obstacle is the poverty of the land and the total absence among the Jews of agricultural tastes and aptitudes. One thing, however, may be safely predicted. If Palestine is ever again to become a Jewish land, this will be effected only through the wealth and energy of the Western Jews, and it is not those Jews who are likely to inhabit it.

W. E. H. Lecky.

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THE BEGINNING OF MAN AND THE AGE OF THE RACE.

THERE is an attraction about the study of beginnings. It invokes in the mind ideas of the mysterious power of creation, the peculiar property of the Divine; for the first beginning of anything, if the pleonasm will be pardoned, is next door to a creation; perhaps it is a creation, and then and there we may witness the hand of the Infinite Maker engaged in very work. Certain it is that the inquiries about the antiquity of Man which have the strongest attraction for most readers are those which relate to his very earliest appearance on the globe, such as: When did this take place? By what process did it come about? Where was the scene of this epochal event?

These questions cannot be answered in a complete and positive manner; but a definite approach can be made to a satisfactory reply to each of them; that is, it can be shown that when a complete reply is found, it will be within certain limits. This far, the science of to-day can certainly go. Progress has been made toward a solution of these problems, and we can speak much more clearly concerning them than we could have spoken twenty years ago. Let us see what the latest reports of science concerning them are.

The first one is: When did man first appear as an independent species on the globe? The means of answering this seem very simple. Man, wherever found, always uses tools, and this distinguishes him from all other animals. His earliest tools are of the least destructible substances—stones and bones, which he shapes to suit his need. How easy to say, therefore, that in whatever geologic stratum we find these proofs of his presence, he must have lived contemporaneously with their deposition. This does seem an easy rule, but a number of obstacles arise in its application. Man's earliest implements were extremely simple, merely flaked stones or cracked bones, and so it comes about that even experts are puzzled to decide in certain instances—and these precisely the oldest—whether the chipped stones were the result of natural causes or artificial action.

This is the case with the half-dozen or so deposits in tertiary strata alleged to show rude implements. They certainly contain

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flaked stones, but the best judges are not agreed that they were produced by the hand of man. They can be paralleled by others, very similar, picked from undoubtedly natural deposits. Sometimes these have been found associated with signs of fire, as at Thenay in France; and we positively know that man is the only animal who made use of fire, and that he knew and availed himself of this element in every age and in every country where we have any knowledge of him. But this also is not conclusive; for fire arises from many natural causes, as from lightning, from the spontaneous combustion of various organic substances, from volcanic action, from burning wells and springs. Charcoal is discovered in strata which we know was deposited long before man appeared on earth. Therefore the presence of ashes, charcoal, and half-burnt logs offers no guarantee of human agency, unless they are associated with something like a hearth, or artificial construction of a fire-heap. While it is possible, therefore, that man lived in the tertiary age, it has not been proved that he did, and it is probable that he did not.

The very earliest deposit in which there may be said to be a general agreement that his remains are found is that called the "drift," a series of gravel beds in the valleys of the Thames in England, the Somme in France, the Manzanares in Spain, and elsewhere in Western Europe. In these, his stone tools and weapons are found lying in undisturbed relations to the bones of animals long since extinct, and, which, under the present condition of the climate, could not exist in that locality, such as hippopotami, elephants, large monkeys, lions, and the like, belonging to a tropical or subtropical fauna. We know, therefore, that man lived there at an early date, when the climate was much warmer than it is now, and that he lived there a long time, for thousands of his implements have been found in various strata and over a wide area.

These facts supply us with a means of approximating how long ago this was. We are aware from a vast array of evidence that after this warm period, when the climate of the valley of the Thames was as mild as that of the valley of the Nile to-day, a period of extreme cold descended from the North over Central and Western Europe. Huge glaciers covered Scotland, Scandinavia and Switzerland, and the forests of France were the haunts of Arctic quadrupeds and birds, the musk-ox, the reindeer, and the white fox. Man, however, the undaunted, the *audax Iapeti genus*, was not dismayed by this fearful catastrophe, but continued to roam the woods and fish the streams,

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transferring his habitations to natural caves, where we still find the evidences of his hunts and his battles, not diminished in vigor nor subdued by the elements, but ever advancing in skill, in the power of self-protection, and in cultural development.

This period of cold is what is called the "glacial period." It existed a long time, and indeed, its effects still continue; for Western Europe has never since reached the mildness of climate it enjoyed before its outset. Its termination, however, is generally said to date from the retraction of the main continental glacier beyond the Arctic circle, and the substitution of a Temperate for an Arctic flora and fauna south of that imaginary line.

The great glacier extended southward at the same time in North America that it did in Europe, reaching sometimes quite to and a little beyond the Ohio River, and creeping along the Atlantic shore down to the mouth of the Hudson. In both continents there is a number of geological chronometers by which the period of its final disappearance can be reckoned; such as the filling up of lake beds, the piling of post-glacial *débris*, the cutting of later river-channels, such as the gorge at Niagara, and the like. From a great many such indications, some of which I am bound to say have been read very differently by different observers, the conclusion has been reached that since the final recession of the ice sheet from the Temperate latitudes, about ten or twelve thousand years have elapsed.

It is very generally conceded that the duration of the glacial period itself, from the disappearance of the tropical animals down to the last recession of the great ice sheet, must have been considerably longer than this. Its effects were so tremendous, in altering the shapes of continents, in excavating huge lakes and piling up immense moraines, that, working as slowly as we know ice in this form does, it must have filled thousands of years, and probably advanced and receded a number of times, before it was finally overpowered by the increased vigor of the sun's attacks. Taking all this evidence from both continents into consideration, some of our most learned geologists have put the length of this "ice age" from twenty to thirty thousand years. Adding this to the former calculation, and allowing a reasonable time for primeval man to develop and spread over the area in which he lived, we have, as the minimum time since man first appeared in Western Europe—where, up to date, we have found the earliest traces of his existence—about fifty thousand years.

This is distinctly the minimum allowance for him. Some writers

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of eminence have demanded over two hundred thousand years to explain all these changes in climate, in organic life, and in geological deposition. The tendency of late years has, however, been toward a reduction of these figures, especially by field-geologists, who seem to be more impressed with the greater rapidity of natural actions than heretofore. One result is sure; we shall never again hear the limit of six thousand years which the old chronology taught.

Having reached thus closely an answer to the question, when man appeared on the globe, we may turn to the next inquiry, How came he to appear? What were his origin and descent? Was he a gradual evolution from some lower animal, or was he a sudden transformation, or, leaping over all laws, did he spring full fledged, in the plenitude of his powers, into the arena of his future struggles and victories?

A dozen years ago, when Darwinism was at its height, an advanced scientific thinker would have felt compelled to maintain that the species man was necessarily a development of some lower mammal, evolved and specialized by natural and sexual selection and by the operation of the law of the "survival of the fittest." It was claimed to support this that the earliest remains of man, the skulls and bones preserved in caves and drift strata from most ancient times, reveal a creature visibly inferior to man as we know him, a biped, indeed, but stooping forward instead of erect, his tongue not loosened for speech, his brain cavity small, with undeveloped frontal lobes, the chin retreating or absent, the shin bones flattened, the humerus perforated, the wisdom-teeth persistent, a frontal process of the temporal bone, seen in apes, preserved in him,—and a quantity of other so-called "pithecoid" or ape-like peculiarities. When all these were gathered together and embodied into one individual, it furnished imaginative writers with the compound creature they pictured in their books as "our common ancestor," the "missing link" between man as we know him and the lower mammals.

All this was a pretty play of fancy, and quite suited to attract popular attention. It was, moreover, different from what had been previously taught, and that was reason enough to recommend it to some scientific writers. To be sure, the visible remains of this imperfectly reputable ancestor were not on exhibition. But it was confidently maintained that they would soon be brought to light, and most diligent search was prosecuted in the caves and gravels where they were reasonably supposed to be. Moreover, parts of him were said to be already on view. There was a curiously shaped skull

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found at Neanderthal and another at Canstatt, which were claimed to belong to the most ancient known, both of which certainly showed a low type of development. But it was decided on further discussion that the skull from Canstatt came from a mediæval cemetery, and that from Neanderthal had merely been picked up in a mountain gully, and was, moreover, visibly from a diseased subject!

What was not less to the point, it was shown by abundant evidence that the ape-like features noticed, such as the frontal process of the temporal bone, occur in many men to-day, not only among low races, as the Australians, where they are certainly more frequent, but among full-blood Europeans. There is not a single one of these characteristics of an inferior race that is not found in living men; hence, the most their presence could prove, even if it was established as common among the old "drift men" or "cave men," would be that these were similar in this respect to certain peoples still surviving, and not that they belonged to a lower stage of evolution of the species.

It has become clear enough also that we must not argue from the presence in man of a single point of resemblance to a lower species that he is ancestrally derived from that species. An eminent naturalist discovered that in a considerable number of people, the tubercles on the teeth resemble those of the lemurs more closely than those of the monkeys. Hence, he promptly drew the conclusion that the "descent of man" was directly from the lemurs and not from the monkeys, as the prevailing impression has been. To such bold generalizers, Professor Virchow points out that the hair of a negro is woolly like that of a sheep, and asks whether, therefore, we must hold that negroes are lineally descended from sheep! His skit is a *reductio ad absurdum*, fatal to many a theory of the kind.

The question has not been left to theorizers. The human remains belonging to the oldest known deposits have been critically examined and compared with members of the race of known historic date. The result reached has been that in no instance is the divergence from the average standard either of height, weight, or development greater than that known to exist between living members of our species. The earliest men who dwelt in Western Europe may indeed have belonged to a race physically lower than that of the modern European, but certainly not so low as some now to be found in Africa, Australia and Southern Asia. In this direction, therefore, we run against a wall. There is no trace anywhere of the "missing

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link," no evidence that man developed out of some lower animal by a long series of slow changes.

What is the alternative? Must we, with a faith in a scientific dictum equal to that in a religious dogma, say, There is no evidence of it, but it is surely so? Or must we take refuge in the doctrine of "specific creation," the literal making and moulding of man by an external Creator? Neither of these alternatives can be welcome to a mind trained in the logic of the sciences; and fortunately, neither is necessary. There is a third possible origin, one that has been exemplified thousands of times under the closest observation, but which depends on laws of which we have very faint knowledge. This is what is called "evolution *per saltum*," or with a jump. It is that process, whatever it may be, which produces "sports" in plants, and "cranks" and men of genius in respectable families. No doctrine of "heredity" or "atavism" or "reversion" can explain these prodigies or monsters, as they happen to be. Botanists have studied the production of "sports" with the utmost care, but in vain so far as the law of their origin is concerned. It remains as obscure as ever.

They are just as obscure in the human race. Who can explain the source of Goethe's inspiration? It came certainly not from his *bourgeois* father and garrulous mother. Genius is ever inexplicable. Talent alone is transmissible and derived from the accretions of cultivation. So it may have been with the first of men. A family of we know not which of the higher mammals, perhaps the great tree-ape, which then lived in the warm regions of central France, may have produced a few "sports" widely differing physically and mentally from the parents, and these "sports" were the ancestors of mankind. This is a theory which is as good as another, based on abundant analogies, and asking for its acceptance no blind faith in the dogmatic assertions either of science or religious tradition.

Such is the reply to the first two questions. We can now more competently turn to the third, Where did man first appear?

I have said that his oldest remains, which have been approximately dated, have been found in the river-drift of Western Europe. But this does not prove that yet earlier relics may not be found elsewhere. The general tradition and even the prevailing opinion among the learned to-day are that the birthplace of the species, the cradle of the race, should be sought somewhere on the continent of Asia. It is evident, however, that if man existed fifty thousand years ago, and before the glacial period, no traditions of his origin could

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possibly have survived. All such are mere myths, fables of the priests and poets, utterly worthless as basis of a scientific theory.

This does not leave us bereft of guides in this search. It is plainly apparent that either of the evolution theories—that of gradual transformation, or that of sudden and extensive divergence from the parent stock—presupposes that man is in the line of descent from mammals, high in the scale of development, very near to him in physical powers and mental aptitudes. Only in such localities where we know these existed some fifty or a hundred thousand years ago, ought we to locate his birthplace and primal home.

This at once excludes a large portion of the earth's surface, as the Arctic, Antarctic and colder Temperate Zones, the lofty plateaus of the world and its inclement shores. All islands must be omitted, so far as we know they then existed, for he had no means of leaving them. The whole of America must be excluded, for it shows no signs of having been the home of the higher mammals, that is, apes or monkeys without tails and with thirty-two teeth. For the same reason Australia, Southern India, and Africa, south of the Sahara, lose their claims. In fact, we are limited by a series of exclusions to the southern slope of that great mountain chain which begins in Western Europe and Africa with the Atlas Mountains, the Cantabrian Alps and the Pyrenees, and continues to the Himalayas and their eastern extensions in farther India. Somewhere along this line, in Southern Asia, or in Southern Europe, or in Northern Africa, we may confidently say man first opened his eyes on the world about him. Up to the present time, his earliest vestiges have been exhumed in the extreme west of this region; but that may be because there search has been most diligently made. The fact remains that, speaking from present knowledge, we must say we know of man nowhere earlier than within the area of England, France, and the Iberian peninsula.

Finally, this argument from exclusion tells strongly, as do many others, against a plural origin of the species. Every fresh discovery goes to show that the differences in man's physical powers or mental capacity are due to exposure to special agencies of climate, nutrition, disease, custom, or other secondary cause, and not to any original diversity. The true field of modern anthropological research is to analyze and explain these secondary causes.

D. G. Brinton.

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NEED, NOT OF "MORE MONEY," BUT OF BETTER EXCHANGE.

It is the right of the people to complain. It is the business of the statesman to devise remedies. It is no more reasonable to demand of the people that they shall define the correct remedies for their troubles, than it would be for a physician to demand of his patients that they shall dictate his prescriptions. Every real statesman is a physician; and a professed statesman, who waits for his constituents to tell him precisely what remedies he shall apply to social ills, is no better than a quack.

Somewhat of the same criticism applies to all who undertake to lead and to form public opinion or who sit in judgment upon a popular demand. Nothing is more absurdly unjust or inappropriate than the haughty demand, frequently made by critics of a popular movement, that those who complain of anything alleged to be wrong in society or government should themselves frame a bill for its correction. This is not the duty of the injured classes. It is not possible for them to do it or safe for society that they should attempt it.

Let us apply these plain principles to the immensely important questions of currency and banking, which have at last forced themselves upon the attention of the American people, and which can no longer be evaded or postponed.

For more than a quarter of a century, there has been a constantly recurring demand from vast numbers of the people for "more money." Sometimes it has been for the issue of greenbacks, sometimes for fiat money, sometimes for unlimited silver. In substance, it is always the same; and no sooner is it defeated in one form than it revives in another. It has been resisted by denunciation, by sarcasm, and by solid argument; yet it has survived them all, and has extorted from timid politicians three separate compromises, each tending to bring about the disaster which has finally befallen the country from a debased and doubted currency. A popular demand, so widespread and persistent, is not the mere insanity or fraud which many advocates of a sound currency imagine it to be. Neither

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fraud nor insanity can maintain itself so long. There must be, there is, some real and legitimate want, lying underneath anything showing so much vitality. What is it?

We may rest assured that what the people really need is not precisely that which they think they need. It is as improbable that they should see at once the true remedy for their troubles, as it is that a sick child should call for quinine or aconite, just when it ought to be administered. We should pay the closest attention to the people's complaints, but very little to the people's prescriptions.

Leaving out of account a few eccentric theorists in the cities, the complaints come exclusively from rural districts, and mainly from the South and Southwest. Do the farmers and planters really want money for its own sake? Not at all. They want it solely as a means of exchange, and as the only means of exchange with which they are acquainted. They have no conception of any other method of selling their crops than in one of two ways: first, by selling for "cash," by which they understand nothing but coin or bills; second, by trading their produce on credit at some country store. The vast majority are compelled to use the latter method, and to be content with a credit entered upon the store books, settled by the gradual delivery of store goods, at prices nominally agreed upon, but practically dictated by a combination of petty storekeepers. Of course, all such traffic is conducted at a great disadvantage to the farmer, who inevitably asks for credit at the store, and is thus obliged to accept goods at the merchant's prices, and to make payment in his own produce at the merchant's estimate. There may be some chaffering; but in the end, the farmer is forced to accept the best terms that he can get from one man, for that year. His only remedy, if he thinks himself unfairly treated, is to trade with another store the next year. It is needless to say that this vast class of producers are fully convinced that they would obtain far better prices for what they sell, and would pay much lower prices for what they buy, if they could be supplied with money, as a medium of exchange, instead of depending upon store-trading. The cry for relief from the entire agricultural class is thus practically unanimous; and in substance, though not in form, it is well founded. Yet what is it that they actually want? Not money, but the best medium of exchange.

Contrast the situation of these classes with that of business men in cities and large towns. "Cash" means in the town something entirely different from "cash" in the country. No wholesale dealer

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thinks of either paying or receiving any large amount in coin or paper money. "Cash," to his mind, means a bank check. So thoroughly accustomed is he to this method, that it hardly occurs to him that there is any difference between the two methods; and yet the difference is really tremendous. He gets every conceivable advantage attending cash transactions, without inconveniencing anybody or putting any strain upon the finances of the country. The wish of the farmer and planter cannot be literally complied with, except at the cost of a general financial convulsion. Indeed, it cannot be complied with at all. If we could draw every ounce of gold and silver from every country under heaven, and distribute it at harvest time among the farmers of this country, it would not suffice to carry through their transactions upon a strictly "cash" basis.

Shall we then issue fiat money for the same purpose? It is only just to the Farmers' Alliance to say that its brightest men have fully recognized the fact that a permanent issue of so much nominal money would utterly destroy its value, and therefore that the remedy would be worse than the disease. It is precisely for this reason that they advocated the "sub-treasury" system, under which about seven billion dollars in paper were to be issued in September and rapidly called in after October. But we need spend no time in demonstrating that this plan would lead to precisely the same ruin that it is designed to avoid.

Once more we ask: "What does the farmer really want?" And once more we answer: "Not money, but the best means of exchange." And what are the best means of exchange? Clearly, sound, safe banks of deposit, brought as close to his door as the country store or warehouse, which now furnishes to him his only medium of exchange,—expensive, clumsy and dangerous.

What is a bank? The conception which prevailed almost universally throughout the United States, until a very recent period, was that a bank meant neither more nor less than a note-manufacturing machine. Its great office was to turn out as many bank-notes as possible, for use as money, passing from hand to hand; and all other services which it might render were considered as mere incidents of this. The widespread ruin, which was wrought by these note-manufacturing banks in the West and South, gave rise to a well-founded dislike of such banks and to an ill-founded prejudice against banks generally. This prejudice was intensified in many sections of our country by the practical working of the national banking law, which

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was used for several years chiefly as a note-issuing machine. Although these notes were all punctually redeemed, yet their issue gave to the banks a very large and unjustifiable profit; and, the number of such banks being for years strictly limited, they possessed a monopoly. The monopoly has entirely passed away; and the profits on note circulation have been reduced to an extremely small figure; but the prejudice remains nevertheless.

A genuine bank, however, is not a note-issuing machine at all. Its business can be connected with issues of bank-notes; but a true banking business consists in receiving deposits, paying checks and making discounts. Of such banks, provided they are well conducted, there cannot be too many. The true nature of such banks was, so far as now appears, first fully explained by Professor Bonamy Price, in 1869, and by Mr. Edward Atkinson, in 1880. The proper office of a bank is to furnish, *without* the use of money, facilities by which goods of all kinds may be exchanged, between the most distant parts of the country. Not merely is it not true that a bank is a mere institution for dealing in money, it is, on the contrary, true that a bank conducted upon sound principles has for its object the reduction of the use of money to the lowest possible point. It is no more the proper business of a real bank to supply money or to extend the use of money, than it is the business of a steam engine to run its governor, or of a watch to run its balance wheel. The coin held by a genuine bank is kept as a balance wheel; or, to adopt another figure, it is the ballast in a ship, indispensable to steady the ship, but the last thing for the sake of which a ship is built or sailed.

By the use of bank checks, money can be dispensed with to an enormous extent. All wholesale dealers understand this, and carry on their business almost exclusively by means of checks. It is universally admitted that much more than 90 per cent of all wholesale transactions are conducted in this manner. From this fact, the inference has been drawn that 90 per cent of the entire business of the country is thus conducted without the use of actual money. But this is vehemently denied, not only by the representatives of farmers and planters, but also by some scientific men, of whom Professor F. A. Walker may be taken as a type. He asserts that substantially all retail transactions are conducted by the use of literal money, and that these constitute a more important share of real traffic than wholesale transactions do.

It is said that the conduct of business, without the actual use of

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money, is confined to the cities and larger towns, while in the smaller towns and in all villages and rural districts all purchases are and must always be paid for in literal money. In confirmation of this view, it is correctly pointed out that few villages or small towns have banks of any kind whatever, and that a vast majority of the people have no dealings with banks, other than savings banks.

What are the facts? Speaking with great deference to the judgment of others, and subject to correction, but, as the result of much inquiry and impartial investigation, it seems an almost indisputable fact that the bulk of transactions in the rural districts, especially in the South and Southwest, are carried on with even less use of money than is usual in the great cities of the North and East.

In the cities and large towns, it is quite true that most retail transactions are settled by the use of actual money. But in strictly agricultural districts and mining regions, which together cover nine-tenths of the area of the United States, it seems to be universally conceded that very few transactions of any kind, whether wholesale or retail, are settled by immediate cash payments. Everybody keeps an account at the country store; and everything is done upon credit. Generally speaking, a farmer or planter opens a credit at the nearest store, upon the faith of which he draws, not money, but ploughs, tools, seed, provisions, clothing, and everything which he needs. Against this, he deposits no money but, when his crop is gathered, he delivers the crop itself to the storekeeper, or sells it to some travelling agent, who pays its price to the storekeeper. In this manner, it is believed, nine-tenths of the small farmers conduct their business; and their retail transactions, quite as much as their wholesale transactions, are conducted upon book accounts, without the use of money. Even farm laborers, it is said, receive by far the greater part of their wages in the same way. The farmer advances to them the things which they want, which he in turn obtains from the storekeeper; or else the farmer guarantees an account, which the laborer keeps at the store. In one way or other, the entire business of the agricultural districts, we are assured, centres in the country stores, and is conducted with less literal money than the business of cities and towns.

That this must be so, would seem to follow inevitably from the well-known fact that the great bulk of money is always to be found in the cities and towns, and from the never-ending complaints of the lack of money in all agricultural districts. Farmers would not com-

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plain so bitterly of the absence of money, if there were in circulation among them an amount at all corresponding with that which is in circulation in the cities. The proof seems conclusive that in reality a smaller proportion of business is done upon a cash basis in the country than in the cities.

If the facts are as here stated, does it not follow that nine-tenths of all our commercial transactions, whether in city or country, are conducted through banking operations? Are not the small farmers of the South and West actually more dependent upon bankers than even the merchants of the East? True, the storekeepers of the rural districts are not *called* bankers; but names do not change the nature of things. Their business is as truly a banking business as is the business of any national bank on Wall Street. But their methods are clumsy and inconvenient, and their charges are enormous. They maintain a permanent suspension of specie payment, and properly enough, because they never receive actual money on deposit, and therefore never ought to be asked for it. They unite the business of banking with the business of merchandizing, and they do not perform either function well or cheaply.

Inquiry among gentlemen familiar with such matters in the South leads to the conclusion that the charge of the country storekeeper for the banking accommodation which he thus furnishes is never less than 15 per cent, in addition to the ordinary rate of profit upon his goods. Indeed, every resident of Southern agricultural districts puts the figure much higher. Let us, however, leave it at this low rate. Does it not follow that the Southern and Western farmers lose at the very least 15 per cent of their whole earnings, simply for want of good, sound banks in their communities, doing a strict banking business, and thus enabling the farmers to buy and sell for cash, wherever they can do so to the best advantage?

Incidentally, it may be noted that these facts explain the general clamor against middlemen, which is so common in the West. The middlemen, with whom farmers directly deal, make an enormous nominal profit on each transaction; and the farmers naturally suppose that the much more wealthy middlemen of the Eastern cities do likewise. As a matter of fact, this is not at all the case, and Eastern merchants make far larger aggregate profits out of a commission of from two to five per cent than any country storekeeper can ever make out of commissions of 15, 25 or 30 per cent. The small middleman has to conduct business on such an unsafe basis, that he is

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not so well off in the end as he would be under a system of small profits, quick returns and absolute security. The whole system is vicious, expensive, and disastrous, alike to the farmers and to the storekeepers.

Do not these facts at once account for the farmers' complaints and indicate the true remedy? Is not the only real relief to be found in the extension, to every town and village in the land, of safe and sound banking agencies, with which farmers can do business on precisely the same terms as New York merchants? Every farmer should learn to use bank checks, instead of bank notes, precisely as merchants and manufacturers use them. These checks should pass through central clearing-houses, precisely as they do in New York, Boston and Philadelphia. The use of actual money, in coin or paper, should be reduced to as narrow limits in the country as in the cities. Farmers and planters should be made to understand that their prejudices against banks are founded upon an entire misconception of the office and purpose of banks, and that, so far from seeking to reduce the number of banks, they should insist upon an enormous extension of genuine banking facilities, as more valuable to them than all the "money" of all the world.

Nor is it only farmers who need to learn this lesson. Even city dwellers have not made one-fourth of the use of banks, which ought to be made and speedily must be made. All payments of $5 and over ought to be made in checks. Every man, able to keep $50 ahead of the world, ought to open an account in his wife's name, and let her pay for her purchases in her own checks. The banks do not enjoy such business; many of the best banks refuse it; but they must accept and encourage it, as a duty to their country and the best ultimate protection for themselves.

These opinions, although now first published, were privately expressed long ago to some of our leading statesmen. Since that time, the irresistible forces of natural law have not only illustrated and confirmed them, but have driven many banks and business men into acting upon them. The payment of small debts in certified checks is precisely what the writer urged upon both statesmen and bankers, before the panic of 1893, not as a mere temporary expedient under panic, but as a permanent relief to our overstrained currency. It should not merely be adopted during a period of pressure and stringency; it should be made universal and perpetual.

Nature is driving us forward to this policy, not merely by the

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brief stringency of 1893, but by the whole recent course of money. The failure of bimetallism is not produced by artificial causes or combinations. The substitution of gold for a mixed currency is a mighty advance of that oceanic tide, which is compelling us, whether we will or no, to adopt the modern methods of advanced civilization, of which the use of banks, instead of coin or notes, is one of the most important and beneficial. If bimetallism were possible, and if we could keep in circulation, side by side, all the gold and silver which America can produce, allowing none of it to flow abroad, we should be just as far from giving relief to our farmers and planters as we are now. We are putting upon precious metals two inconsistent tasks—the maintenance of a standard and the furnishing of an adequate medium of exchange. Whether we want to do so or not, we shall be absolutely driven to give up this hopeless struggle against an evolutionary force, as resistless as the flow of the Amazon. Gold will in a very short time be kept in bank vaults as a standard and security only. Indeed, that has practically come to pass already. But the only coin or notes in circulation should be of small denominations, subsidiary to checks, and never used for any payment exceeding, at the utmost, $10. Certified checks must be accepted for railroad and steamboat fares, for store purchases and for all purposes, except where the most trifling sums are involved. Then, with this system brought home to the door of every farmer, at least as near as a telegraph station, the currency problem will be solved forever.

Here we turn aside, to meet an anticipated objection, which may proceed from one holding the soundest general views upon currency. It will be said: "What is the difference between the issue of bank checks and bank notes, if checks are to be used on such a large scale and for small payments? Will not such a use of checks drive gold out of the country, and lead eventually to a suspension of specie payments, as effectually as would a similar issue of bank-notes?" No: it would not. The vice of the note-system is that notes are intended to remain in circulation for a long time, and would not be issued if it were believed that they would have to be redeemed the next day; and therefore they are either issued in such small quantities as to be insufficient for all the needs of exchange, or else in such large quantities as to lead to a practical suspension of specie payments, to inflate prices, drive out gold and bring about all the ruin which, sooner or later, invariably follows an irredeemable currency. Bank-checks, on the contrary, are not only theoretically redeemable

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promptly, but *must* be in point of law, and *are* in point of fact, presented and redeemed, without more than twenty-four hours' unnecessary delay. The holder of a bank-check is bound to put it in course of collection forthwith, under penalty of losing all claim against the person who gave it to him in case the bank should fail, and of losing all claim against the bank, in case the signer of the check should countermand it. Ninety-nine per cent of all checks, therefore, are presented to the bank for redemption, within two days after they are received by the payee. So long as this continues to be the law and the practice, any inflation of the currency by means of checks is impossible. Of course, this wholesome law must not be relaxed. Certified checks would remain good against the bank; but the drawer would be released, if the bank failed. Such checks would, therefore, keep in circulation just long enough to suit the convenience of people living in solitary hamlets or isolated farms; but experience proves that they would not remain out many days. They could never be kept floating for so long a time as to produce, like bank-notes, any dangerous inflation of the currency.

The danger of forgery has been suggested. But the banks would simply have to prepare their own engraved checks, numbered upon a system of their own, instead of leaving each customer to prepare and number his own checks. The British banks do this already, and the advantages of the system are obvious. Certification would be made by a finely engraved stamp, forgery of which would be as expensive as the forgery of a bank-note. Our banks ought to do all this now, without waiting to be driven to it by further pressure.

If, then, this universal use of banks is the proper solution of the currency question, why is it not at once adopted? Partly for want of affirmatively good legislation, but still more because of bad legislation maintained by ignorance of economic laws. As the success of the whole plan depends upon making banks of deposit perfectly secure, provision should be made for more thorough inspection and greater publicity of bank management. Is it impossible to devise some method by which bank deposits shall be made as safe as national bank-notes? When this is done, the people will accept certified checks all over the country with as much confidence as they now accept bank-notes. We need not, however, wait for this, because the credit given to a check is at most a matter of a few days.

Far more serious is the question of taxation. So long as the mania for taxing all personal property is allowed to control, it will

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be impossible to maintain a sufficient number of sound and safe banks in the rural districts. With money worth only four per cent on perfectly safe securities, small country banks cannot pay taxes of any kind, without investing in securities which pay a higher rate of interest, and which, therefore, are *not* perfectly safe. Is not the very climax of absurdity reached, when the Farmers' Alliance demands in one breath the loan of money to them at two per cent and the taxation of the same money at two and a half per cent? But it is only a little less absurd to tax *any* necessary medium of exchange, whether money or banks. The profit upon a simple deposit and discount business is so small, and the expenses of a little country bank so heavy in proportion to such profits, that such a bank if prudently conducted cannot live under taxation. It is true that multitudes of small "banking concerns" do exist in places where they are taxed upon capital and even on cash on hand; but few of them are prudently conducted, and they are all ingenious in evading taxation.

Unfortunately the constitutions of so many States insist upon the taxation of all kinds of property that it would be hopeless to attempt a solution of the problem through the action of separate States. Congress can be convinced of the necessities of the situation, with one-tenth of the effort required to convince the Legislatures of forty-four different States. If Congress cannot be persuaded no Legislature can be, and the country must be left to flounder in hopeless embarrassment and perpetual conflict. The only possible solution of the great currency problem must be found in the wide extension of small national banks or branches of such banks, authorized by Congress and exempted by it from all taxation.

While many of the advantages here contemplated might be secured by a great multiplication of small national banks, the whole system would be made vastly more sound and safe by permitting large banks to establish branches within their respective States. Little, isolated banks are relatively too expensive in administration to be quite safe; and they have none of the advantages which flow from knowledge of the intended movements of the larger institutions, the policy of which must necessarily have an immense influence upon them. Each little branch would have all the benefit of wide knowledge of affairs possessed by the central bank; its credit would always be as good as that of the parent institution; its management would be subject to supervision and wise control; its affairs would

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be constantly inspected by some one outside of its direct management, yet entirely friendly and anxious for its success; and its capital, usually small, could be increased to almost any extent at an hour's notice by calling upon the head office. Such branch banks, therefore, would command that local confidence which is essential to success, in far greater measure than could a purely local bank, since they would have all the merits of such local banks with the added credit attaching to the central bank. In short, the farmers and small dealers of every village could have all the facilities and all the security now given to the richest merchants in the largest cities.

The practicability and sufficiency of the remedy here proposed have been amply demonstrated by experience. Scotland has only twelve banks, with more than 2,000 branches extending to every village and receiving deposits from the poor as well as from all other classes, just as our savings banks do. The results give universal satisfaction. There is no currency problem in Scotland; there have been only three or four bank failures in a century; and all the creditors in each case were paid in full. Every Scotchman is proud of his country's banks and attributes to them much of his country's prosperity. The amount of bank-notes in circulation is small and is not allowed to increase; but the smallest producer sells his produce for cash, at the highest market price, payable in bank checks, and buys what he needs at the lowest market price, payable in the same way.

The same thing is done in many parts of the United States; and, wherever this is the case, none but philosophers, outside of the silver mining States, ever took much interest in the controversy over bimetallism, until attention to it was forced by impending disaster. The wide extension of a similar banking system is the one thing indispensable to those sections of our country in which the want of currency is a subject of complaint. Is not this a sufficient remedy? Has any other practicable remedy ever been proposed? Can any other adequate remedy be proposed?

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

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HOW TO DEAL WITH A FILIBUSTERING MINORITY.

WHOEVER will take the pains to compare a State constitution made during the Revolution, with a State constitution made within a few years in the far Northwest, cannot fail to notice how much longer the new is than the old. But, if the observer will have the patience to read the two instruments through, he will find that this difference in length is largely due to a totally different idea of the duties of legislative bodies. The early State constitution was a simple document made up of a preamble, a bill or a declaration of rights, a partition of government into the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, and the grant or denial to each of certain specified powers. The recent State constitution is a most elaborate document in which a fourth department of government, the administrative, has been carefully developed.

Our ancestors a century and more ago were founding States and were deeply concerned with the principles of government. We of to-day, accepting these principles, are concerned only with the administration of government, and have undertaken to prescribe how it shall be done. It has become the fashion to set limits on the power of the governors, of the legislatures, of the courts, to command them to do this, to forbid them to do that, till a modern State constitution is more like a code of laws than an instrument of representative government. A distrust of the servants and representatives of the people is everywhere manifest. A long and bitter experience has convinced the people that legislators will roll up the State debt unless positively forbidden to go beyond a certain figure; that they will suffer railroads to parallel each other; corporations to consolidate; common carriers to discriminate; city councils to sell valuable franchises to street car companies and telephone companies, unless the State constitution expressly declares that such things shall not be. So far has this system of prohibition been carried that many legislatures are not allowed to enact any private or special legislation; are not allowed to relieve individuals or corporations from obligation to the State; are not allowed to pass a bill in which any member

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is interested; or to loan the credit of the State; or to consider money bills in the last hours of the session.

While the framers of State constitutions, responsive to the political expression and demands of the people, have thus labored hard to mark out the highways along which legislation shall move, and to close up the byways into which legislatures are so apt to turn, it is not a little interesting to notice that no command is given that legislation shall proceed and that parliamentary obstruction shall not be tolerated. This is a matter which has been left and left entirely to the legislatures themselves. The people at large have given it no attention whatever. That it was possible for a body of men chosen for the sole and only purpose of making laws to bring themselves by their own deliberate acts to a pass where they could not make laws seems never to have occurred to them. That accidental causes might produce such a case was fully recognized, and in every constitution the presiding officer is given a casting vote. But in no constitution, State or Federal, is there any provision for overcoming the deliberate obstruction of the filibuster. Full confidence has been felt that the majority by its rules and its votes would see to it that legislation was not unreasonably hindered, a confidence which the late struggle in the Senate has badly shattered.

Yet the filibuster is by no means a modern character. Both he and his ways are as old as legislation, and he may be found busily at work at almost any period of our history. In early days if he forgot himself, went too far, and wearied the patience or seriously threatened to defeat the will of the people, he was likely to be suppressed by physical force. A fine instance of this, as fine an instance of filibustering as our annals can show, occurred in Pennsylvania in 1787. The legislature sitting at Philadelphia had fixed the day of adjournment. Twenty-four hours before the time, a messenger rode into town with word that Congress, sitting at New York, had submitted the Federal Constitution to the States for consideration. The friends of the constitution insisted that the legislature should call a State convention at once. The enemies of the constitution insisted that it should not; and, while the debate was on, the assembly adjourned for dinner. The opposers of the call were in the minority but without the presence of at least three of them no quorum could be had. All resolved, therefore, to stay away; and, when in the afternoon the clerk called the roll, a quorum was not present. The sergeant-at-arms was sent to summon them; but those

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summoned flatly refused to attend, and the assembly was forced to adjourn. Meantime the news spread abroad and when the assembly met on the following day the people, finding no quorum in the room, went to the tavern, seized three members, and dragged them to the State-House, thrust them into the assembly-room, and blocked the doorways. The Speaker counted them present, a quorum was secured, and the convention to consider the constitution was called.

The act and its punishment were extreme. But it served to make clear the will of the people, that a legislature should legislate. In general the mild rules made by the bodies themselves were sufficient. The few shillings fine for unexcused absence, the summons of the sergeant-at-arms with the mace in his hand, were all sufficient to keep up a quorum. Having little to do and plenty of time in which to do it, the largest liberty was allowed for debate, and the minority was quietly suffered to talk to their hearts' content. Freedom of debate was considered, and rightly considered, to be of the utmost importance.

It was at this time and under conditions long gone, that the Constitution of the United States was formed and the House of Representatives and the Senate were brought into existence. Each being free to make its own rules and practices, adopted a code suitable to its needs. Its needs were few and simple. Each was a small body, charged with the management of the financial, commercial, and industrial welfare of States few in number, sparse in population, insignificant in business, and widely separated. This is most important to remember. We must not forget that more people live in the State of New York to-day, than dwelt in the whole fifteen United States in 1800. We must not forget that more money is raised by taxation in New York City each year than was ever raised in any one year by the United States Government from taxes, duties, imports and excises combined, prior to 1835. We must not forget that our forefathers knew nothing of the telegraph, the railroad, the steamboat, nor of the busy life which in our time centres around them. Many a man who came to Congress was separated by a journey of two, three, or four weeks from a constituency who were widely scattered over an immense area, and who never saw a newspaper printed oftener than once a week and in some cases never saw a newspaper at all. The position of such men in Congress has no parallel to-day. The voters who sent him to the House, the members of the Legislature who sent him to the Senate, knew nothing of what was taking place in

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Philadelphia or in Washington, and could not express any opinion. The opinion of any section of the country on any matter of importance was expressed by the Congressman from that quarter and by him alone. That he should demand, and be given, abundance of time in which to make known his views, and, when in the minority, seek to persuade the majority to change its opinions, was felt to be no more than just. In those days, therefore, the majority who, having the votes could have made such rules as they pleased, extended to the minority a tender consideration to which they are no longer entitled. The day's action of Congress is now no sooner over than it is known in Eastport and in Seattle, in El Paso and in St. Augustine, and, if important, in London, in St. Petersburg, in Paris. It is read before sundown on the bulletins of a hundred cities; it is commented on by a thousand evening journals, and is made the subject of long editorials in many thousand morning newspapers. The opinions of the people of the entire country are formed quickly, and expressed quickly, and thus Congressmen are little more than the instruments for placing these wishes on record. One great reason for elaborate debate and slow consideration has been removed, for a consensus of the opinions of people all over the country can be both accurately and speedily made.

So far as the Federal Constitution is concerned, the minority in Congress is given but one right which the majority is bound to respect. They may call for the yeas and nays and so force their opponents to go on record, in the journal. Beyond this whatever they enjoy is the free and generous gift of the ruling majority. No wonder, then, that the moment the minority, in a desperate struggle for the triumph of their wishes, began to use the privileges granted them for the purpose not of securing freedom of debate, but of stopping legislation, the majority struck them down with that most formidable of all instruments of parliamentary procedure, the previous question. The adoption of the rule took place in the closing hours of the Eleventh Congress.

That such a rule is indispensable in modern legislation is not to be denied. But that it should be used, as it now is used, with unrestricted liberty, is an evil quite as serious as the ills it was meant to cure. It ought to exist because, in the first place, it is the duty, the imperative duty, of every legislature not merely to debate but to legislate, and, therefore, to tolerate no course of action by any of its members which will absolutely prevent legislation; because, in the

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second place, the majority is and must be, held responsible for the conduct of affairs and is, therefore, entitled to use all means proper and necessary for the conduct of affairs; and because, in the third place, the vast and steadily increasing volume of business thrust on Congress renders it absolutely essential that not one moment of time be consumed uselessly. In the early days of the Republic a Congress that placed fifty acts on the statute books did a great business. Washington during his first term signed but 196. To-day no Congress ends its term but the House has on its calendar at least 10,000 or 12,000 bills and the Senate upward of 4,000. That serious attention should be given all these is not possible nor even desirable. Hundreds, nay thousands, of them are the work of "cranks," of enthusiasts, of men or women gone daft on some subject of merely temporary interest, and were they passed would be most pernicious. But there always are on the calendars dragging along from year to year, from session to session, bills which ought to receive prompt and careful attention, but are crowded out because for lack of time they cannot be reached in the session. That action on such matters should be delayed by the filibustering of the minority against some other bill is wholly wrong and no majority ought to permit it. With the utmost diligence not five per cent of the bills are reached in Congress.

In our day, therefore, with larger House and Senate, with greater interests at stake, with this immense volume of business pressing for attention, it is right and necessary that the majority should cut down some of the privileges the minority have so long enjoyed, not by any constitutional or legal guarantee, but by mere consent of the majority. The time for dilatory motions, for refusals to answer roll-call, for time-consuming debate has gone by. After a century of experience we have reached a time when a change in the administrative department of government is necessary. It is now quite in order that when another State constitution is made, or an old one patched and amended, that another step be taken along the line of administrative development, and that a limit be set to filibustering. To put such a limit in a State constitution would be as easy and as sensible as it was to put in many which already exist, as that which in North Dakota limits the indebtedness of the State or that which in South Dakota will not suffer a judge to sit in a case in which he has an interest.

But what shall be the limit? By all means a reasonable time for

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debate. The very fact that a minority exists in any measure, and is large and vigorous enough to insist on being heard is the best of all reasons for hearing it. A minority is not to be considered as factious till it ceases to be reasonable and becomes factious. A majority can very easily be in the wrong and ought under no circumstances to act hastily, nor until that great safeguard of representative government, freedom of debate, has been fully respected. The provision, therefore, should be made in full recognition of the fact that a majority may be arbitrary as well as that a minority may be factious; and a certain time fixed during which no gag, no previous question, can apply, and after which a vote must be taken.

To put such a provision in the Constitution of the United States is not desirable nor possible; not desirable because the Federal Constitution never has been, and ought not to be, burdened with that detail of administration which, as pointed out, has been the chief feature of constitutional development in the States; not possible because in times of peace the Federal Constitution is practically unamendable. Since the day the first to the tenth amendments were sent to the States more than seven hundred joint resolutions for amendment have been offered. Yet but seven have ever been sent to the States, and of these seven three were the fruits of the civil war. That amendment would indeed be badly wanted which, after securing two-thirds of the votes of both Houses of Congress and the approval of the President, secured two-thirds of the votes in each branch of the legislature of thirty-three States and the approval of thirty-three governors.

Happily no such cumbersome machinery need even be set in motion. Obstruction by the minority has been successfully dealt with by Mr. Reed and by Mr. Crisp in the House, and may be as successfully dealt with in the Senate. That no gag has ever existed in the Senate is largely due to its peculiar organization. Its membership is small. Its power is great, and the responsibility laid upon it most weighty. Duly conscious of this responsibility, and removed by the long term of office from frequent contact with the people, and the consequent responding to every passing phase of politics which marks the House, the Senate has always been conservative in habit and slow in action. The rules administered by Adlai Stevenson are in no important respect different from those administered by John Adams and Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. Among these rules the previous question as a means of cutting off debate has never been

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known. No time can even be set when debate shall stop without the consent of every Senator in the chamber. A Senator has always been at liberty to speak on any bill or motion as long and as frequently as he would. This is a simple act of courtesy by the majority to the minority and has rested on the supposition that, being an act of courtesy, the minority would never abuse it. How unsound this supposition is the recent struggle in the Senate has proved conclusively.

Yet the ridicule and the abuse which have been heaped on the minority is most uncalled for. They deserve none of it. They did no more than the majority has allowed all minorities to do since the day the Republic was founded. The blame rests with the people. That the details of the work of making laws must be defined as carefully and as fully as are the great principles of government according to which laws are to be made, has been proved over and over again by the experience of a century, and has found recognition every time a State has made or mended a constitution. That these details cannot be made on the spur of the moment; that they must grow out of experience; that they must be worked out slowly, gradually, and one by one; that they must be constructed on general principles and not gotten up on short notice to suit an emergency, is absolutely necessary if they are to be of any lasting use. Having given this branch of the administration of government no consideration whatever, the people have allowed abuses to develop which now seriously threaten to defeat the conduct of legislation. But the remedy is with the people. Just as they have corrected other abuses by stripping from their legislators the power to continue them, so they can at their pleasure destroy filibustering.

But the people must do it on principle. They must do it not because they wish the purchase-clause of the Sherman Act repealed, or the Federal Election bill passed, or a new tariff enacted, but because obstruction beyond a certain limit is wholly wrong, and ruinous to that fundamental principle of popular government, that the majority shall rule and take the consequence. This the people have failed to do. When a bill is to their liking then obstruction is wrong and the filibuster is all that we have seen him described of late by the press. When a bill is not to their liking then the filibuster is a patriot to be rewarded for his services with votes of thanks, receptions, and silver bricks. So long as their action is thus unprincipled, so long will their outcries receive small attention.

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The behavior of the Senate during the memorable session just closed is not to be ascribed to a decline in the character of the men who compose it, but to the failure of the people to define the way in which legislative bodies shall act as fully as they have defined the matters on which action may be taken. In default of such limitation the House of Representatives has been forced, by the immense amount of business it is called on to perform, to prescribe limits of its own; has been forced to invest the Speaker with powers which would have astonished the men who framed the Constitution, and has debased itself into a machine for registering the will of its two and fifty committees. The Senate failing to take such action has given to the country a fine object lesson in law-making. That lesson will not be lost. The reform will be made and the filibuster suppressed in time; but not till the people cease to waver and demand his extirpation on principle.

JOHN B. MCMASTER.

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THE USES OF RICH MEN IN A REPUBLIC.

WHY do we not make a better use of our rich men? We waste them, and let them run to seed anyhow, a burden to themselves and a nuisance to the public. We ought to utilize them, and make citizens of them, lifting them from their condition of ineptitude and degradation to become respectable members of the commonwealth. Like the tides, the sun, or the negro race, they could do a great deal of useful work, if they were properly turned to it. As it is, we let their vast motive power run to waste, like the waters at Niagara, in noise and foam.

They are not bad fellows—at least not all of them. Many of them are really anxious to do something, and to become decent citizens. They bore themselves intolerably; and are grateful to any one who will show them how they can do something that men will care for, or how to spend their money in ways that cannot be called either selfish or mean. Many a man who has inherited millions is gnawed with envy as he watches a practical man turning an honest penny. How he would like to earn an honest penny! He never did: he never will; and he feels like a dyspeptic invalid watching a hearty beggar enjoying a bone or a crust.

Many a rich man is capable of better things; but he does not know how to begin. The one thing that his wealth cannot buy is—an appetite, the zest for useful work, the consciousness of being a worker in the hive, and not a drone. A Parisian *viveur*, whose dinner occupied him three hours each night at Bignon's, was once watching sadly a young English tourist eating his first square meal after six weeks' climbing in the Alps. "Ah!" said the epicure with a sigh, "if one could only sit down to *pâté de foie gras* with a mountain appetite!" But that is their mistake. It is the *toujours perdrix—toujours pâté de foie gras*—which robs them of appetite, of zest, of the love of work. But it is not too late. Much may be done by a proper regimen. And I propose to show that there are still ways in which a rich man—even a very rich man—may yet become useful and happy.

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The ancients managed this matter much better than we do. At Athens and in many other Greek republics there was a remarkable institution known as the *Λειτουργίαι*, Liturgies, that is, *public services* of rich men. In Christian times the word became limited to a religious service, or public worship; and hence the word *Liturgy* now means a form of congregational prayer, or ritual of divine service. But in ancient times, and originally, the word and the thing had a far wider meaning. And we might learn a useful lesson by restoring the ancient republican Liturgy, or costly public service offered to the State by rich men.

At Athens the Liturgies were legal and constitutional offices, imposed periodically and according to a regular order, by each local community on citizens rated as having a capital of more than a given amount. They were special taxes on the conspicuous rich men, originally imposed as the equivalent of peculiar privileges and rights; just as a feudal barony, with its powers and revenues, implied the obligation of military and civil service and the maintenance of an armed force, police, and justice. But when democratic equality was established at Athens, the special taxation of the rich was maintained and largely increased. It was not a simple tax; it was not unpopular; it was no sordid affair of money. It always remained a *public service*, an honorary distinction, a coveted office, a duty to be filled by taste, skill, personal effort, and public spirit. Rich men contended for the office, greatly exceeded their legal liability, often ruined themselves in their zeal, and sometimes gained so dangerous an influence by their magnificence, that Aristotle in his "Politics" warns the democracies of the risk. But much of the artistic and intellectual preëminence of Athens was due to this favorite institution. We have suffered this noble custom to die out. We leave our millionaires in their sordid impotence. Financial reformers talk big about a mere mechanical progressive income-tax. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain made some brave speeches about "Ransom." But the true ransom is the revival of that noble republican institution, the Liturgies of the Rich.

The Athenian Liturgies were for very varied purposes. As magistrates and ministers certain men of wealth were charged with the cost and production of the public dramas, choruses, processions, games, embassies, and feasts. In time of war, they were called on to man and arm a ship for the fleet. But almost the whole of the public amusements, religious and artistic ceremonies, were provided

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freely for the people at the cost and by the personal efforts of selected men of wealth. We owe the tragedies and comedies of the great poets to the munificence of these wealthy patrons. The temples, statues, and monuments with which Athens was crowded were mainly the gifts of public benefactors. One street was named from the tripods which the *Choragi* had won as prizes for success in their Liturgy, and the lovely monument of Lysicrates was dedicated to enshrine such a prize. The legal institution developed into an honored custom, whereby the chief ambition of a rich man came to be that of making splendid gifts to his fellow-citizens. Theatres, race-courses, temples, baths, aqueducts, gardens, libraries, academies, colonnades, pictures, statues, books, and museums—all were showered upon favored cities by wealthy men who possessed or who coveted the name of a citizen. Herodes Atticus was no hero: but to this day the traveller at Athens is reminded of the public spirit of old times by the stupendous remains of his gifts to his native city—perhaps the most lavish munificence of a private person recorded in history. Twenty millions to-day would not suffice to pay for the public works which were presented to Greece by this very useful rich man. The Romans carried out the system of Liturgies on a scale even vaster, but in a spirit far less pure. With the Romans it was not so much honor as ambition which suggested their munificence; rich men sought power rather than immortality; they gave gladiatorial shows and baths, rather than libraries and tragedies. In Mediæval times, public munificence was confined to churches and religious offerings. It is the artistic Liturgy of republican Athens which we should seek to restore.

In this matter the United States are far ahead of the rest of the civilized world; but, even in America, the practice is quite in its infancy. Prominent citizens in some of the most advanced States have made to the public splendid gifts of libraries, museums, and colleges. It is an excellent beginning which has shown the Old World the virtue of the republican spirit. In Europe there is as yet but little of the kind. In England, mainly in the Midlands and in the North, something has been done—but exclusively by traders and men of business. The way has been shown by Anglo-Americans, such as Mr. Peabody and Mr. Carnegie. We have our Masons and our Edwardses. Once or twice a rich tradesman or a manufacturer has presented the nation or his native town with a collection of pictures, a museum, a library, a college, or even a park. It is a strik-

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ing fact that these noble examples of public spirit have been given amongst us almost without exception by obscure middle-class men, whose wealth no man suspected, whose generosity was a surprise even to their neighbors, and whose munificence is usually accepted with a chilly and even ungracious civility.

The class which is most conspicuously wanting in this form of public spirit is the most conspicuous class now extant as a class in the whole world—the English aristocracy of hereditary wealth. Of all rich men they are the only powerful order which, outside their own estates, never give the public anything—except their formal subscriptions to hospitals and the like. In the way of munificence —nothing. One can hardly recall a single instance of a great peer or great landowner giving the public anything from their millions. Their idea of public munificence is to display their splendid selves. Their noble example to the people is to exhibit their own luxury and extravagance. The only form of Liturgy they recognize is the admission of the people to witness the stateliness of their own lives. They build palaces—to live in themselves; they have parks, picture-galleries, libraries, and collections, which they keep up rather for pride than for any personal pleasure in them; and which the public are admitted to stare at one day in the week (when the family are away) at half-a-crown a head.

No doubt, the obsolete law of entail, and the obsolescent tradition of "keeping up the family place," account for much of this. They devote large sums, it is true, to improve and develop their estates. But they often inherit enormous fortunes in other forms, and marriage, minorities, and the growth of towns, from time to time throw into their laps heaps of ready money. All this goes in race-horses, yachts, orchids, deer-forests, and entertainments—but not one penny to the public. The public are allowed to look on from a proper distance. They can see the horses race, the yachts sail; they may not look at the orchids or the deer, but, when a concert or ball is given, they may stand in the gutter and watch the carriages drive up to the *choragus'* door. This sublime self-devotion of the rich aristocrat is imitated from the royal caste. In ancient times kings and emperors everywhere made splendid gifts to the people, and almost the whole of the public enjoyments in the Roman Empire were presented by the Cæsars, their family, ministers, or officials. Now, kings and emperors receive—even tout—for presents, but never give. The aristocrats are only too ready to learn the

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new version of *noblesse oblige*. They give only to themselves. It is treat enough for the public to be suffered to see them enjoying themselves.

Happily, America shows us examples of a very different spirit. There are plenty of towns in the United States which are crowded with buildings and institutions freely presented by rich citizens to the public. America is fortunate in never having known on its soil the poisonous seed of feudal entail and privileged orders. Nor is the American people so eager as are the vulgar in Europe to gaze at a luxury which they are not allowed to share. When rich men in America squander fortunes on themselves, they have little opportunity for personal ostentation or feudal pomp; and they can hardly persuade themselves that their extravagance is a civic duty and a public boon, as princes and nobles in Europe are taught to do. But even in America there is much to be done to show the social justification of great wealth. The donors of libraries, museums, and colleges, do not come as a rule from the ranks of the most conspicuous millionaires, and the proverbial "gold-bugs" are only conspicuous for their absence from the noble roll of public benefactors. We are told in Europe that these gilded *coleoptera* are dying of ennui and auriferous plethora. Why do they not show their fellow-citizens how to form a grand gallery of art, how to create a high-class theatre, how to found a great scientific museum?

There is almost no limit to the forms in which rich men could be of use if they tried, and to the public benefactions they could confer if they put their minds to it. Such grand institutions as the Cooper Institute or the Lick Observatory are an honor to the people amongst whom such splendid examples of public spirit are common. But let us say a word for that rarer form of munificence which we saw to be established as a regular system at Athens. That is the artistic rather than the scientific or educational form of public endowments. We need hardly say more as to the vast service to the community conferred by the foundation of a library or a college. It is obvious and familiar. Words can make it no clearer, nor could they heighten the public sense of benefit. The artistic benefaction is not so familiar, and is more in need of recommendation and encouragement. No millionaire ever seems to think of giving his fellow-citizens a series of free musical entertainments, a historic pageant, much less a free dramatic performance.

All the great dramas of antiquity, the tragedies of Æschylus and

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Sophocles, the comedies of Aristophanes and Menander, the lyric choruses, the sacred dances, and processional festivals, were all without exception the gifts of rich men to their fellow-citizens; no man paid for his seat, no man was shut out, no one was expected to contribute. When Æschylus vanquished Phrynichus, or Sophocles won the prize from Euripides, the victory was decided not by the money taken at the doors, nor by the number of nights that the *Œdipus* was "run," but by the voice of trained judges. And the rich *choragus*, who had lavished his wealth in mounting the *Prometheus* or the *Antigone*, was amply repaid by the honor of having shown the public a masterpiece in a worthy setting. The tripod he carried home on success (the very bill for which was included in his outlay) remained as a sacred heirloom to his descendants.

There are certain forms of art-culture which no state and no municipality, however rich and liberal, can ever provide for itself out of its public revenues. Town halls, senate houses, public offices, even libraries and museums, may be raised out of public funds by popular vote. But reasonable economy, or at least strict business value for the sums voted, will be, and ought to be, considered. The highest forms of art, which it is the duty of the best civilization to present as types to all citizens, have no market price at all. They are above price; and, in order to produce their moral and social effects, they ought to be treated as outside of all economical conditions. How is a state or a town to obtain a collection of ancient masters, of priceless Raffaelles and Titians? Where is it to buy a Louvre or a Vatican? Who would vote the people's money to make another Versailles? Good or bad, the palaces, picture galleries, collections of antiquities, gardens and parks of Europe, have been created by princes and by them ceded to the State. The age of princes is practically over in the West, where they retain here and there the form and style of sovereignty, but nowhere its real functions and powers. But the age of rich men is not at all over. On the contrary, they are richer than ever, and the means of providing the public with splendid art and noble enjoyments has passed from princes into the hands of millionaires. The millionaires have the means; and they alone have it; but as yet they miserably fail to recognize their part.

The day may come when the world will have agreed to abolish rich men altogether as an obsolete institution. And certainly no anarchist or communist is working so desperately to hurry on that

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day as are the rich men themselves. The day, too, may come when the people will have so much taste, public spirit, and passion for the beautiful, that they will be ready to lavish their public revenues on artistic masterpieces. Something of the kind may be observed in France, and perhaps in Italy. In France it is understood that the State and the municipalities will buy pictures, statues, gardens, galleries, and fountains with a free hand out of the people's taxes, and will build palaces, and halls, subvention theatres, and provide splendid spectacles for the people from national and civic funds. The result is that, in France, no private person ever gives the public anything, and that public money is spent on works of art with what would be called wanton extravagance in England and America. Here, and generally amongst a Protestant race of Saxon origin, it is not our way to provide beautiful things out of public money with that princely magnificence which many beautiful things require. An English-speaking race is economical, business-like, and jealous of anything like æsthetic extravagance. Nay, the strong Puritan element in English and American communities has stirrings of conscience against any form of art but that which is very narrow and quite conventional. It is hopeless to expect that, for many a long day, the higher forms of art will be adequately provided for the people in any English-speaking country by public funds voted by popular bodies.

Here is the chance for rich men to cut in and supply a "felt want." For the present at any rate, we have got the rich men, and a field lies open to their energies, in which no competition is possible. English and American tax-payers will not pay the sums required by the truly noble forms of art. Art for the people is accordingly driven by the competition of the market to its more vulgar forms; and the civilization of the age is *pro tanto* debased. The rôle of the rich man is to show his fellow-citizens what taste, energy, and generosity can do. The Midases of the railway and money "hells" are not supposed to possess any quality of these three but the second. But the men of hereditary wealth in England claim to have a monopoly of the first, if not of the third; and there is now in America a large order of men having inherited fortunes who value themselves on a culture and refinement quite unique and incommunicable. We are told that the old Faubourg St. Germain and the historic *principii* of Rome do not furnish an order more plainly superior to their fellow-citizens and more cruelly condemned to enforced indolence by

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the impossibility of entering the vulgar turmoil of "politics." Here then is a career of public usefulness marked out for the American citizen who combines in himself wealth, leisure, and the higher culture.

As I recently tried to show, the only chance of a really great and elevating theatre is to carry it on without regard to direct profit. The other day Lord Tennyson's *Foresters* was tried in London but found no public encouragement. Regarded as a "woodland masque" and nothing more, it was sufficiently dramatic to sustain the lyrical poetry, bright music, and graceful tableaux of the piece. Though not a stirring play, it was a work of art as a lyrical interlude. But the British public would have none of it, preferring any rowdy nonsense or vapid melodrama. In Paris the principal theatres are under State patronage and have public subventions. That is out of the question in England or America. No great historic theatre was ever long maintained in its perfection on strict commercial lines. The day may come when the public will pay the value of a truly beautiful creation; but the day is far off. The world would never have had the *Agamemnon* and the *Œdipus*, the *Birds*, and the *Clouds*, if the citizens of Athens had had to pay ten drachmas for a seat, and if Æschylus and Sophocles had had to watch the till anxiously every night. But the same principle holds good of music, the opera, the orchestra of every kind. All the great instrumental pieces of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Wagner, were aided by wealthy patronage; and they would never have been produced at all, if they had solely depended on the money taken at the doors. It was a very bad form of patronage, full of evils and humiliations of its own. No one would wish to revive such a system; and indeed it never can be revived. The age of the Waldsteins, Lobkowitzes, and Prince Archbishops, has passed away. But the general rule holds good. The greatest things in music have never been produced on mere commercial lines. And they are even less likely to be produced now.

Music, the drama, with all other art, having been handed over to the *entrepreneur* and the competition of the market, tempting profits have been offered to the artist, but only under conditions which tend to lower the art. A brilliant musical performer may make a rapid fortune, but only on condition of singing or playing in a hall so large that no one can hear him properly, whilst his performance tends more and more to display and not to art, and so that he is worked like a crack race-horse and "run" like a quack pill. A famous tragedian is expected to run round the world exhibiting him-

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self to audiences without a grain of training or judgment, who go to see him in the same spirit that they go to see a dwarf or a woolly horse. Monster concerts, leviathan programmes, one man on one instrument performing for four hours to an audience of ten thousand persons; a woman singing show pieces to thirty thousand people in an iron shed; professional puffery; the "star" playing with a company of walking dummies—are the inevitable result of the commercial system. It ruins the artist and degrades the art. In the course of thirty years I have watched how many of the finest artists in Europe have gone all to pieces after a tour round the world. Their methods before and after a successful tour are as much contrasted as the signatures of Guido Fawkes "before and after torture." Unhappily, it is not only they but their art which has gone to pieces. The profits and the business of the artist have been put upon such a footing that, if art is to pay at all, it has to submit to the manager's conditions; and these are necessarily such as are the ruin of high art.

In this dilemma our only resource is the rich man—the man who combines wealth, judgment, taste, and public spirit. He must put aside the bad and vulgar ways of the old-fashioned patron, who patronized for his own enjoyment or more usually from pride. There could not be a better model than the Athenian *choragus* of the best period, who was himself keenly ambitious of the prize of public honor, who looked upon himself as the business manager of the artist for the love of the art, and felt the same interest in his success as the squire took in the victory of the knight in the lists. It is not necessary to add that, of course, the legal obligation of the old republican Liturgy is not a thing to be revived in our age. If wealth is ever specially taxed in our times, it will be for all public purposes and not for incidental purposes of art. Until we recover the art passion which animated Athenians in their glorious times, we could hardly expect that a class-tax imposed by law would be popular. But there is all the more reason for voluntary discharge of these honorable duties.

There has hardly ever been an age when less is offered to the public in this form than is the custom in our own age. During the whole of antiquity the entire art education of the people and their amusements, spectacles, and luxuries, were provided for them freely by the wealthy. During the whole of the Mediæval period, vast resources were spent for the public benefit in the way of churches, religious offerings, ecclesiastical and academic endowments. The

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cathedrals, minsters, churches were the gifts of the rich, and were themselves free museums, galleries of art, musical halls, and even theatres. When the Mediæval world ended, much was done of the same kind, but in less noble and munificent ways, by the kings, princes, courtiers, and grandees. In our age the possessors of hereditary wealth are mostly inclined to spend it on themselves and their personal friends. Conspicuous examples of public munificence are left to obscure workers whose noble public spirit too often raises something akin to a sneer from the toadies of the great.

At the end of my homily on "Liturgies" I am not about to enter at length on the question—Why should the rich make gifts to the public at all? This is a very wide and deep question which might carry us very far. It is enough for my present purpose to show that it has been recognized as a social, moral, and religious duty in all civilized times, and that it is still recognized in theory and from time to time practiced in a way by many. The old republican conception of society was saturated with this principle as the antidote and compensation of glaring inequality amongst citizens. The Christian religion took it up as the corner-stone of its practice. The churches were incessantly repeating how God loveth a cheerful giver, and charged the rich that they be ready to give. Unhappily, this excellent advice took a very narrow and inadequate form, and has in our days been interpreted to mean a modest subscription to a church, hospital, or blanket club. And now, when the fervor of Christian charity is waning, and the zeal of giving half one's goods like Zaccheus is abated, there are very many rich men who never give at all, except what fashion dictates, and who entirely ignore the social obligation imposed on them by great wealth. Princes and grandees are more or less passing away as a social institution. The rich have succeeded to their powers; and they must remember that they have succeeded to their obligations.

My own creed, on which this is not the time or place to enlarge, teaches me that in our industrial age all wealth is really the product of thousands working together in ways of which they are not conscious, and with complex and subtle relations that no analysis can apportion. The rich man is simply the man who has managed to put himself at the end of the long chain, or into the centre of an intricate convolution, and whom society and law suffer to retain the joint product conditionally; partly because it is impossible to apportion the just shares of the coöperators, and partly because it is the

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common interest that the product should be kept in a mass and freely used for the public good. But this personal appropriation of wealth is a social convention, and purely conditional on its proving to be convenient. The great problem which the next century will have seriously to take in hand and finally solve is this:—Are rich men likely to prove of any real social use—or will it be better for society to abolish the institution? For my own part, I see many ways in which they can be of use, and I earnestly invite them to convince the public of this before it is too late.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

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MR. GOLDWIN SMITH'S "VIEWS" ON OUR POLITICAL HISTORY.

MR. GOLDWIN SMITH has just published a volume on the political history of the United States which is noteworthy for many reasons. It is a very brief book, in which the history of some four hundred years is indicated in broad and dashing strokes; but it is hardly singular on that account, for Mr. Goldwin Smith is known to be nothing if not bold. It is doubtless noteworthy that in an age when scholarly criticism so solemnly demands histories altogether made up of statements of fact and quite void of the offence of comment we should be given a history nearly all comment, striding with seven-league boots from period to period, with almost no detailed or carefully wrought statements of fact. And yet it is neither its daring brevity nor its confident comment that makes the book worth looking at a moment, but the extraordinary nature of the views which fill its pages. It was quite unexpected that such things as Mr. Smith says in this volume should be spoken so confidently just at this stage of the study of our history. We have here what may turn out to be the last, as well as the most trenchant, statement of certain leading conceptions concerning the history of the United States which are now undergoing criticism so sharp and decisive that they will hardly survive another generation.

Mr. Smith, it is true, is not an American; there are evidences of that fact on every page. When he speaks of "our point of view," it is clear that he does not mean the American, but the British point of view; and from that point of view familiar matters often look oddly enough to the American reader. But it is singular how native views and acquired, how English prepossessions and instruction received from American writers, are mingled, even if they are not fused, in this queerly compounded volume. There is, first of all, the quality which we recognize as Mr. Smith's own, belonging to the man rather than to the race; then there is the quality, not of mercy, which we know to be a national, not a personal, attribute; and, last of all, there is the color of the American books which Mr. Smith

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has read. The personal quality, to be quite frank, is cynical and impracticable; the national trait appears whenever either the theory or the practice of the Revolution is under review; the tone and method of the old books predominate when the subject is the development of the nation and its institutions.

It is, doubtless, Mr. Smith's own temperament which renders the tone of the book disagreeable. He writes as if he were irritated, with an air of belligerency and a readiness to attack; and one is repelled even by a true judgment if it be sourly uttered. Examples fill the book. No one can justly object to hear Charles James Fox condemned for his follies or for the tricks of party policy to which he stooped; but when Mr. Smith speaks of him as "a debauchee in politics as in private life, whose reckless violence and revolting displays of sympathy with the Americans" made the king's course consonant with the honor of the country, we can only stare and feel uneasy to hear a historian speak so violently. It is not necessary to admire Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry over much to feel the injustice of the sneers with which Mr. Smith speaks of them, as men neither pure nor sincere, who turned to the trade of agitation because they failed in everything else. He cannot understand coarse-grained and strenuous men, filled with an ardor none the less wholesome because incapable of a nice discrimination. He goes through our history looking for modern English gentlemen; he naturally finds very few, for the young nation is struggling to make conquest of a continent, not to acquire a temperate and cultivated judgment; and the men whom he does find are for the most part not to his taste.

Equally significant of personal temperament are the passages in which Mr. Smith stops passionately to deplore the whole course of events. The most noticeable of these is the passage on pages seventy-three and seventy-four beginning, "Woe to them by whom the offence came." He is speaking of the Revolution. "Woe," he cries, "to the arbitary and bigoted king"; woe to Grenville; woe above all to Charles Townshend; woe to Lord North; "woe even to Lord Mansfield"; woe to the Parliament, to the Tory squires and the Tory parsons; woe to the pamphleteers of prerogative! "But woe also to the agitators of Boston," to the preachers of Boston, "to contraband traders if there were any"; "woe to all on either side who under the influence of passion, interest, or selfish ambition fomented the quarrel which rent asunder the English race." The passage is longer than that in which he says all that he has to say of

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the entire colonial history of New York. Amen, let us say, with deepest unction. Woe indeed to all who may be reckoned responsible for bringing strife and hatred into the great English family! But is our indignation profitable: does it elucidate the history? Mr. Smith himself says that separation was inevitable; he would also doubtless admit that human nature likewise is inevitable, and that the whole course of events was what was to have been expected under the circumstances. It is too late now to be contemptuous or indignant about the matter. Nor does it contribute to a just understanding either, as Mr. Smith's initial thesis itself demonstrates.

That thesis is, that a radically false relation existed between the colonies and the mother country from the beginning. "The English colony unhappily," he says, "was a dependency, and when it grew strong enough to spurn dependence there was a bond to be broken which was not likely to be broken without violence and a breach of affection." The whole difficulty he believes to have been, that the colonists "deemed themselves still liegemen of a sovereign on the other side of the Atlantic." And yet it could not have been otherwise in that age and generation. This unnatural relation, if we are to deem it such, was the characteristic flower of the time. The establishment of colonies was but a part of the schemes of empire which everywhere filled the minds of monarchs and statesmen in that age of keen rivalry among the nations to draw to themselves the commerce and the riches of the world. Colonies were means of trade and of territorial aggrandizement; and that they were so was the logical and inevitable outcome of the centuries that had gone before. It is idle, as it is also unphilosophical, to wish that it had been otherwise. Unnatural though the relation between colony and motherland may have been, moreover, the colonists for long earnestly desired to maintain it and exhibited a passionate pride in holding their place as Englishmen.

The real difficulty was, that the relationship was new, and that there was no common understanding of its real nature. England did not regard the colonists in the same light in which they regarded themselves. In their own view they were simply Englishmen away from England; while in the view of the merchants and politicians in England they were dependents, directly subject in all things to the authority of the Crown. The policy of England, moreover, had not been consistent with her theory, and did not remain consistent with itself. For generations together, until indeed the colonies had grown

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into power and self-consciousness as free English communities, their dependence upon the mother country had not been insisted upon, except in matters of strictly imperial policy; and in these matters the colonists could yield without any intolerable sense of injustice. During all that time they were treated most generously. . So long as they paid the expenses of their own governments they were defended by English ships and English troops, paid out of the English treasury, as an English county would have been. Then, after being thus nursed and indulged in independence, and when, under this "wise and salutary neglect," they had grown into a people capable of united self-defence in support of common principles and accepted precedents, the principles and precedents which seemed most surely settled were of a sudden rejected and reversed.

It is wholesome, though it is not new, to hear the English side of the question urged. American writers some time since began to admit the technical legal right of the English government in the matter of taxing the colonies, and the entire fallaciousness of the claim to representation in Parliament made by the colonial agitators. They always have admitted that the tax on tea was a small matter, and no very substantial grievance in itself. Every reputable American writer, too, now speaks with shame of the unjust and brutal treatment of the colonial 'Tories.' It was shameful that they should be mobbed and despoiled because they stood manfully to principles of loyalty and allegiance only yesterday universal, and refused to be turned about by a sudden revulsion of feeling and a temporary grievance. But that, which is much, is all that just history can say. Mr. Smith pushes his English view of the matter much beyond this point of calm judgment. He quotes the words which, "on the eve of the civil war in England, Sir William Waller the Parliamentarian, wrote to Sir Ralph Hopton the Royalist: "My affections to you are so unchangeable that hostility itself cannot violate my friendship to your person, but I must be true to the cause wherein I serve. . . . We are both on the stage and we must act the parts that are assigned to us in this tragedy. Let us do it in a way of honor, and without personal animosities"; and Mr. Smith's comment is, "Such was the spirit of men mournfully obeying in a great cause the inevitable call of civil war. There was little of it on either side in the American Revolution." Was there much of it on either side in the Parliamentary wars; and are we writing homilies or are we writing history?

Mr. Smith cannot see any greatness in the cause of the American

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revolutionists; for he denies that there was any adequate provocation for revolution in the Stamp Act, and believes the American leaders to have been guilty of rash and contumacious folly in bringing on so dreadful a contest upon so small an issue. "It is true," he concedes, "that in the case of the tea duty, as in that of Hampden's assessment to ship money, what was to be considered was the principle, not the amount." But the principle, he urges, was not the same in the two cases. Ship money was illegal; the stamp duty was not. The impositions which Hampden resisted were parts of a plan and system of tyranny; but the stamp tax was nothing more than a most impolitic piece of lawful legislation.

True enough, let us say; but the point was not one of law, and taxes of this kind unresisted would assuredly have proved but the beginnings of a system. The American grievance was not that it was unlawful to tax them, though they may loosely have called it unlawful, but that it was intolerable, a part, a too practical part, of that false conception of the relationship between colony and mother country which Mr. Smith so strongly condemns, and which English policy had hitherto refrained from insisting upon. The historian is bound, if he would be just, to deal with the humors of men as the wise statesman would. He should reckon with them, not quarrel with them. The colonists had oftentimes protested against having their money spent by any one but themselves, and they had always hitherto been suffered to spend it as their own representative bodies willed. This was the only representation they really wanted. When Grenville proposed to tax them by act of Parliament he was proposing to do what is as intolerable to Englishmen as the violation of law itself, the violation, namely, of precedent. A situation was created over which courts had no jurisdiction, indeed, but which must go into the forum of conscience and policy. In that forum the Americans had the strongest possible claims to redress. The relation of nominal dependence had subsisted only upon sufferance with these mettlesome people with their "fierce spirit of liberty," and they could suffer it no longer the moment it threatened to become real instead of merely nominal.

The claim to representation, though it may have had no legal basis, had a very substantial historical foundation. The American demand was, that the colonists be allowed to act through their representatives, whether in Parliament or in America, as they had always done hitherto, according to a principle lying deeper in the English

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constitution, as they conceived, than even the privileges of Parliament or the powers of the Crown. If this was in effect a claim to independence, that is why a war for right so suddenly became a war for separation. There had been virtual separation in matters of this kind all along; if it could not remain virtual, it must be made real. That was the revolution; and it is vain to cry "Woe!" The direful spirit of civil war did all the rest, that was not just but bitter and shameful. The cause itself was great, if the spirit of English liberty is great; and Mr. Smith differs from the greatest English historians, not only, but also from most informed and liberal Englishmen of our day in not perceiving that it was really the authentic spirit of English liberty that moved in the Revolution. No other outcome was conceivable, except by us who sit at this cool distance.

For what his book contains as the result of his reading our own historians Mr. Smith is hardly to be held responsible, except that, sketching in outline, he seems to exaggerate what he copies. He gives us that view of our development which might very appropriately be entitled The Expansion of New England. It is singular how crude and baseless this familiar view seems when stated absolutely and without qualification, as the writer of an outline finds himself obliged to state it. Our own writers, giving details, seem also to imply limitations: what they do not tell us in so many words that we got from New England we feel at liberty to regard as having come from some other source. There was a time when it did not seem possible to write the history of the United States in any other way. It was delightfully simple. There were, at most, but two sets of forces to be reckoned with, the one set proceeding from New England, the other, which was in the long run to be discredited, from the South; and the permutations and combinations of these could be worked out at leisure. This is the way Mr. Smith puts it: The southern settlements "were colonies of the same mother country as New England, but widely different from her in religious, social, and political character, destined presently to be joined to her in an ill-starred union, then to come to an inevitable rupture with the confederation of which she was the soul, and after a desperate struggle to be subjugated and reannexed." It will be noted that in this view of the matter, not only the great middle States, which have made their own rich and characteristic contributions to the institutions and spirit of the country, but also the whole West, with its great populations so thoroughly its own, are accounted but parts

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and projections of New England. If it were true, it would be marvellous, a most signal manifestation of a mysterious Providence!

This simplified method of writing history has had some very remarkable, though quite logical, results. The most remarkable is the most recent, Mr. Douglas Campbell's two volumes on the Puritan in Holland and New England. Mr. Campbell maintains that a great deal of what we regard as Puritan in our institutions was really Dutch in its origin, and had been learned or absorbed by the Puritans while they were exiles in Holland. Our history has thus shown a singular tendency to revert to origins, and make origins do service as an explanation of development, instead of moving forward through the great processes of modification which have really constituted the only part of our history that is distinctively our own. Why would it not be better still, if this is the truly scientific method of writing history, to go back of New England to the counties and neighborhoods of the old country from which the Puritans came out to America, and view American civilization as the expansion of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex? "The history of New England," we have already been told, "begins in an obscure Lincolnshire village."

But, after all, very little of it began there. The seventeenth century brought all sorts and conditions of men to the Atlantic coasts of America. From Yorkshire to the Land's End, England contributed her populations. Scotchmen came, too, fortunately, and Swedes, and a great colony of Dutchmen. There were whole commonwealths of Catholics and Church of England men, as well as Dissenters of every cast and description. The variety was complete while the settlements still clung to the seashore. When the great westward migration began everything was modified. Then there came a mixture and fusion of these and of many other elements. Beyond the mountains, not only new settlements, but a new nation sprang up. Of all this Mr. Smith drops scarcely a hint, though the dramatic quality of the process would unquestionably be to his taste. We are forced to conclude that he got no hint of it from his authorities. The history of the United States is very far from being a history of origins. It is just the opposite: it is a history of developments. You have not described the manufacture of steel when you have discussed the qualities of pig iron. This great continent, then wild and silent, received European populations, European manners and faiths, European purposes, into its forests, and, finding they meant to stay, proceeded to work its will upon them. They took on

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a new character, and submitted to a new process of growth. Our continental life is a radically different thing from our life in the old settlements. Every element of the old life that penetrated the continent at all has been digested and has become an element of new life. It is this transformation that constitutes our history.

In order to understand the development of the United States, indeed, we have even to make a new reckoning of the original elements. In talking of the New England and of the Southern forces in our life, we have dismissed the Middle States from the reckoning under the impression that they were only a region in which New England and the South shaded off to a middle neutral line lying, no doubt, somewhere in Pennsylvania. As a matter of fact, if we are determined to be partial in our view and to pick out a single set of influences to be traced through the later intricacies of our history, the Middle States have rather more claim to our choice than either New England or the South. Throughout the eighteenth century, at any rate, the middle colonies were more distinctively American in constitution and character than either their northeastern or their southern neighbors. They had that mixture of populations, that variety of structure, that materialistic and progressive way of looking at things, which have been the really characteristic marks of American development. New England and the South were for a long time, in temper at any rate, like detached pieces of England, though of different and contrasted parts of England. Their statesmen presided over the formation of the Confederation and the Union with a conservatism and regard for precedent of which the Middle States were inclined to be not a little impatient. Then the conservative populations of New England and the South and the mixed population of the Middle States, along with many bands of settlers from foreign lands, crossed the mountains and met on the western prairies. The New Englander, gone into the West, the Southerner, gone out of the South, found himself dominated by conditions much less familiar to him, it is safe to say, than to his new comrades from New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. He had emigrated into a new atmosphere as well as into a new land; found himself becoming a westerner and a distinctively American man.

The formative period of American history has had no geographical limitations. It did not end in colonial times or on the Atlantic coast. It has not ended yet; nor will it end until we cease to have frontier communities and a young political life just accom-

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modating itself to fixed institutions. Our heritage is much, our origin deeply significant, but most significant of all is the way in which we have traded with the estate we received at the first. That part of our history, therefore, which is most truly national is the history of the West. Almost all the critical issues of our politics have been made up beyond the mountains, beginning with the Louisiana purchase, which neither New England nor the South would ever have insisted upon on its own account, and ending, if the civil war be taken as the culmination, with that greatest question of all, the extension of slavery. Mr. Smith, following our own historians, talks as if the slavery question had been an issue of morals simply, made up between the New England conscience and the South. It was a question made up, in fact, between the South and the West. It was the men whom Lincoln represented, and not the anti-slavery societies, that pushed the question to a settlement. The New England conscience would have worked *in vacuo* if there had been no territories and no intense and expanding western life.

It is this making of the nation in the great central basins of the continent that an outline history should principally exhibit. It lends itself willingly to broad treatment in rough body colors. But one must have the taste and temper for it. He can do nothing with it if the rough and ready western man hopelessly repels him. The typical Americans have all been western men, with the exception of Washington. Washington had not had much of European culture. He had got his experience and his notions of what ought to be done for the country from actual contact with the wilderness, and actual life on the western frontier. He conceived the expansion of the country much more liberally than others of his generation, and looked confidently forward to many a great national enterprise which even yet we have not had the spirit to undertake. The qualities that made him a great commander and a great president were qualities which would have made him an equally great frontiersman. You cannot imagine Hamilton or Madison, or Livingston, or John Adams, or the Pinckneys living tolerably on the frontier. They are not Americans in the sense in which Clay and Jackson and Lincoln were Americans.

We may wish that the typical Americans of the past had had more knowledge, a more cultivated appreciation of the value of what was old and established, a juster view of foreign nations and foreign politics; that they had been more like Webster and less like Jackson; and we may hope that the typical American of the future will

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be wiser and better poised. But in the mean time the past is to be understood and estimated as the facts stand, and only a thoroughly sympathetic comprehension of these men who have actually been the typical Americans will enable us to effect that purpose. The fact that Clay rather than Webster, Jackson and not John Quincy Adams, represented the forces which were really predominant and distinctively American in our development is commentary enough on any theory that makes either of the peculiar sections of the Atlantic seaboard the principal or only theatre of American history. Mr. Smith stares and shudders in Jackson's presence, and looks upon Clay very much as one would regard an uninstructed child.

With regard to the central legal question of our history, as to the right of secession and the constitutional character of the war for the Union, Mr. Smith occupies a position which is certainly altogether his own. He cuts the knot instead of untying it. "The Constitution was on this point," he holds, "a Delphic oracle." The struggle for the Union was not a civil war in any proper sense of the term since it "was not a struggle between two parties for the same land, but between two communities, territorially separate, for the land of one of them which the other had taken arms to reannex." The legal question is in his view hardly material, no theory being necessary to explain the falling asunder, or to justify the separation, if it could have been accomplished, of two communities so radically antagonistic and incompatible in temper, life, and purpose as New England and the South,—the two "communities" he has in mind. It is the mere fact of the situation that arrests his attention. Like most foreigners, he is not impressed by the fine spun legal niceties of the constitutional question, for he is accustomed to a constitution which moves with circumstance and national policy. It is an excellent point of observation for American readers to be led to once and again, if only to see how things clear up when viewed from it, and how much of a constitution is obedient, whether it be written or unwritten, to the course of events. But, after all, to look at it so is to miss a very essential feature of American history. Americans have never waived a point of law. We have always been a law-regarding and litigious race. Accustomed to put our institutions into written statements and then argue every point of interpretation as if it were a condition precedent to development, we have, so to say, gotten the legal lines and constitutional anatomy of our government indelibly worked into our consciousness; and neither side could have fought the battles of

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the war of 1861–65 until they had satisfied themselves that they had a legal right to do so. That they both thought themselves in the right proves what subtle litigants they were. But to waive the point of law is to skim the surface of the history.

It is this sense for law that has given to the whole development of the nation its cohesion. It is because of this that our great community while it has spread has not fallen to pieces. The sentiments of the war time were steeped in legal conceptions. The surviving soldiers of that war would feel with keen shame that they had fought unrighteously if they could not still feel that they had fought for law, not to make a right but to preserve one,—not to "reannex," but to keep, the South. It is this strong conscience and instinct for law, indeed, which has rendered our written constitutions valid and serviceable as sound vehicles of the national life. Those constitutions are not causes, but results,—results of inbred character and of a desire for distinct coherence in respect of every step of construction in the development of institutions.

I must say that I am affected by this volume of Mr. Goldwin Smith's very much as Walter Bagehot was affected by Mr. Canning. "He was a man of elegant gifts, of easy fluency, capable of embellishing anything, with a nice wit, gliding swiftly over the most delicate topics; passing from topic to topic like the *raconteur* of the dinner table, touching easily on them all, letting them go as easily; confusing you as to whether he knows nothing, or knows everything." I cannot but feel that its views have not been carefully enough considered; above all, that they have not been carefully enough fused and rendered consistent. It is singularly, almost perversely, wrong in some places; it is singularly able and in the right in other places. Mr. Smith has a very penetrative insight into some matters and some characters; but if he cannot do a thing in a flash he cannot do it at all. He cannot wait on the slowness of his thought, for none of his thought is slow. He is not careful that his views and conclusions should be scrupulously and patiently wrought. Even where the pages shine with an unmistakable brilliancy they are bright with a hard glitter that is metallic and cold. The book is rather a strong pamphlet containing views than a real history containing dispassionate and well considered truth.

WOODROW WILSON.

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A PLAN TO FREE THE SCHOOLS FROM POLITICS.

THE public school system of the United States as at present constituted is entirely without a foundation. The board of education of each locality is practically vested with absolute authority to conduct its schools in accordance with any whim, and consequently it is not far wrong to say that there are in our country as many school systems as there are cities, towns, and country districts.

Are the results of a system which grants these privileges to *lay* boards of education so flattering as to justify us in the belief that the ideal system of schools lies in absolute local control? I believe not. While here and there a place may be found where the child alone is considered and, in consequence, the schools are indeed excellent, in the large majority of instances the standard of the schools is fully as low as might be expected of a system which extends to political officials the privilege to sell for personal profit the welfare of the children entrusted to their care. This being so, it is in my opinion not at all inopportune to inquire whether our schools might not be benefited by State laws which would divest local officials of the power to conduct the schools for the benefit of themselves. In regard to the country schools, the conditions in most instances are so extremely unfavorable that a change of whatever nature in their administration could scarcely be fraught with danger.

It is claimed by the advocates of our present system that absolute local control is ideal, because it offers the most favorable opportunities for advancing the schools, and that the opportunities for introducing radical reforms would be greatly diminished, if the local officials should be hampered by laws which would limit their independent authority.

But those who use this argument leave out of consideration that absolute local authority affords as much opportunity to unscrupulous members of school boards to plunder the schools, as it does to conscientious persons to raise the standard of these institutions. And, as under existing conditions, there is nothing to prevent a new board of education from destroying at a single sweep all that may have been

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done for years by faithful workers to place the schools upon a proper foundation, the system has the dangerous feature of leaving the interests of the children without any protection whatever, beyond the good will of ward politicians. In a number of our cities the schools have reached a degree of excellence that, all things considered, places them in my opinion, among the best schools in the world. But, if by a turn in politics these schools should be brought under the spoils system, their downfall is almost sure to follow. It is, therefore, questionable whether the disadvantages of our present system do not more than outweigh the favorable considerations.

Nor, in my opinion, does the wisest method of conducting schools lie in a system of absolute State control such as that followed in Germany, where the local authorities are practically divested of all independent power. As the German schools are conducted upon principles diametrically opposed to our own, it is but natural that the points of greatest strength in the German system should be where our system has its most serious flaws; and that, on the other hand, it should be weakest in points where our system is strong.

But, if a change should be effected in our country, it would by no means be necessary to leap from one extreme to the other. And my particular purpose in this article is to point out that it is not impossible to devise a system of limited State control by means of which the advantages of the American and German systems might be combined without retaining the defects of either. As an understanding of the German system is necessary to render this clear, I shall devote a few words to its analysis before entering upon the plan that I desire to suggest.

The individual "dominion" having retained the right to manage all matters relating to the schools, the German school system is not a national one. Nevertheless, broadly speaking, the same system is followed in all the dominions with the exception of a few of the smallest ones, where slight variations may be found. In each dominion all matters relating to religion and education are placed in charge of a member of the cabinet known as the Minister of Culture (*Kultus Minister*). Now, the Minister of Culture is empowered to appoint the members of a board of education, known as the Upper Educational Advisory Board (*Oberschulrat*), and it is by this board that all important school regulations for the dominion are prescribed. The most important among the laws made by this board are those concerning the requirements on the part of candidates for receiving

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licenses to teach, and those relating to the course of study. The Upper Board of Education is composed principally of lawyers and theologians, and among the members there may be found, as a rule, one professional educator, sometimes more than one. Since in Germany laymen do not usually oppose the recommendations of professionals in purely professional matters, the schools of a German dominion, in spite of the existence of the advisory board, may be said to be conducted in accordance with the views of a single educator, or at most of a very few. It would lead us too far here to enter into further details of the German system.

Besides the higher board there are, in each dominion, a number of lower educational boards having charge of the schools of the various districts into which the dominion is divided. But the independent authority of the lower boards, as well as of the inspectors appointed by them, is extremely limited in regard to pedagogical affairs, their particular mission, in this direction, being to observe that the schools are complying with the laws prescribed by the upper board. The superintendents of city schools also are without independent authority. While the latter are free to inspire the teachers, their powers do not extend much if any beyond those enjoyed by the principals of our city schools. In the larger cities the superintendent and state inspector are not infrequently combined in one and the same person.

That a school system so rigid cannot fail to hamper the more progressive teachers is clear, and the painful uniformity in the methods employed in the various schools of Germany is but the natural result. It is indeed only in districts where for the sake of science the state inspectors are willing occasionally to close an eye, that material departures from the routine may be found. Nor has the educator, whose ideas are more progressive than those of the state officials, a better opportunity to develop his theories in a private than in a public school, the private schools in Germany, as well as the public schools, being under the control of the state. And the unfavorable features of the German system are somewhat exaggerated by the fact that, almost without an exception, the state regulations throughout the country are conservative in their nature.

But when we consider the advantages of a system of absolute state control, we find that there is perhaps more to be said in its favor than in its condemnation. The great advantage of the German system lies in the fact that the schools rest upon a foundation so

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firm that every child in the state, whether attending a city or a country school, is assured of an education of a certain standard. There would be no opportunity in Germany for unscrupulous local authorities to appoint incompetent teachers, or to permit indifferent teachers, after their appointment, to fall below the minimum requirement. Indeed, the school system of Germany represents an ever-advancing impenetrable wall behind which no teacher is permitted to recede. The minimum requirement is definitely fixed and the regulations are enforced with absolute certainty.

Further, even the unfavorable features of the German system are not so serious as would appear on the surface. While, owing to the prescribed course of studies the progressive teachers are to a certain extent prevented from introducing radical reforms, there is nothing to prevent them from securing the required results by the most advanced methods, provided they are sufficiently interested in the science of education voluntarily to carry additional burdens upon their shoulders. And there are in Germany so many teachers of this nature, and particularly among the younger people, that educational advancement is more rapid in that country than might generally be supposed in the face of the rigid system. In a word, there are many teachers in advance of the advancing wall, while none is permitted to lag behind.

Again, although the German school officials who prescribe the state laws are conservative, their conservatism does not extend so far as to cause them to refuse the adoption of such measures as are deemed wise by the common consent of educational scientists; it is rather a conservatism which endeavors to guard against the dangers of leaping forward so rapidly that the average teacher is unable to follow. Educational conservatism in Germany and educational conservatism in America are two entirely different things. In our country the management of the schools is left altogether in the hands of laymen—persons utterly incapable of discriminating between rational and irrational reforms. In Germany, on the other hand, where the schools are practically managed by educators, the conservatism is a philosophical one, the adoption or refusal to adopt new measures being based upon intelligent and competent reflection. Methods which have been condemned by educators, although commonly in use in our mechanical schools, are no longer tolerated in Germany. On the other hand, the most conservative educational boards of Germany have long since adopted many of the methods

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which by ignorant members of American school boards are still regarded as radical and dangerous reforms. It is difficult to find a school in Germany where objective methods have not reached a comparatively high stage of development.

We find, consequently, that while the strength of the American system lies in the fact that progressive local authorities are in no way hampered in their endeavors to advance the schools, the strength of the German system lies in this, namely, that the local officials are obliged to keep their schools upon a definitely fixed standard, having no authority to make regulations which will cause or permit the schools to take a backward step. On the other hand, while the German system presents the weakness of allowing too little independence to progressive teachers, the American system is weak in so far as it contains no provision for compelling local officials to keep the schools abreast of the times. Now, if measures could be introduced by means of which local boards of education would be divested of the power to permit the schools to fall below a definitely prescribed minimum, without being deprived of the liberty to raise their standard, America would be fortunate enough to possess a school system which would begin to approach the ideal. To adopt a system of this nature would mean to place our schools upon a firm foundation, and to protect the interests of the child. At the same time, such measures could not fail to prove of valuable assistance to conscientious members of boards of education, as well as to progressive superintendents and teachers. On the other hand, none would be unfavorably affected by such a change, except incompetent teachers and members of school boards desirous of using their offices for selfish ends.

There is little doubt that against such a proposition the politicians would raise the "liberty" cry. It is clear, however, that a system of this nature would be directed against license and not against liberty. Most of the evils to be found in the schools of our country to-day are due to the fact that we fail to distinguish between liberty and license, between authority to do the best and authority to do as one pleases without regard to law and order, between the right to develop and the right to destroy. That liberty without license is perfectly feasible is seen, for example, in the case of the builder, who is permitted without restriction to build as solidly and as beautifully as he chooses, and yet is prevented by the law from disregarding the rights and safety of others. While he is permitted to select his own form of architecture and to decorate the structure to his

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heart's content, he is nevertheless obliged to make the foundation and the framework sufficiently strong to support the structure. A failure to comply with the essential laws will lead to the imprisonment of the responsible person. As the position of the school official, who is responsible for the development of the character of our future citizens, is certainly not less great than that of him who is engaged in the building of houses, there is no reason why the actions of the former should not to a certain extent be held in check as well as those of the latter.

The conditions to which I have referred would be met, in my opinion, by introducing a system of limited State control, that is, a system whereby the State should prescribe: first, the framework of the course of study and certain regulations concerning the methods of teaching, allowing the superintendents and teachers, however, considerable freedom in completing the structure; and, secondly, certain important laws concerning the general management of the schools. While many persons would ridicule the idea of placing the schools on a scientific foundation, on the ground that education is not a science, and that consequently every teacher must instruct according to her own ideas, this stand is not taken by our States; if it were, they would not appropriate large sums of money for the support of normal schools—institutions whose sole purpose is to give to those intending to enter the profession, a knowledge of the science of education and the art of teaching.

Among the regulations concerning the course of studies and methods of teaching that could be made by the State without in any way hampering the progressive teachers are:

First, laws which would do something toward the prevention of text-book abuse, and particularly the practice of compelling children to memorize lessons from text-books, while the teacher practically limits her work to hearing the pupils recite what has been thus learned. Although this method of teaching has for many years been condemned by all scientific teachers, it is nevertheless the method most commonly employed in the public schools of our country to-day. If such a procedure be teaching, then the normal school is a superfluous institution. Work of this nature is no longer tolerated in any of the German schools. Indeed, for the purpose of preventing the improper use of text-books, the authorities of Munich have gone so far as entirely to exclude from the schools the use of text-books

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in geography, history and the natural sciences. Dr. Karl Just, Superintendent of Schools at Altenburg, in Saxony, an eminent pedagogue, recently said to me, that if work of this nature is still so widely tolerated, the first radical step toward reforming our schools would be the entire exclusion of text-books. He said, however, that as a substitute, the teachers should be supplied for their own use with books so voluminous that the publishers would not necessarily be unfavorably affected by the change.

Secondly, laws compelling the schools to devote a certain minimum number of hours during the week to objective work; in other words, laws which should guard against the possibility of our primary schools dwindling down to purely mechanical reading, writing, and arithmetic schools. As to the nature of the objective work, the local officials should be allowed to decide. That such a law is justified is proved by the single fact that the poorest reading and writing is found in the primary schools where the instruction is limited, practically, to the three R's, while in the primary schools where the course of instruction is broad, the results in these branches are not infrequently very superior.

Thirdly, narrow as this view may appear, I cannot refrain from saying that teachers should be obliged by law to employ phonics in teaching children to read. Such a regulation would in no way interfere with the use of as many additional methods as the teachers desired to employ. In the primary schools where phonics are not used, with scarcely an exception, the waste of time is simply enormous, and the progressive teachers who disagree with me on this point would certainly change their opinions, if they should test the matter as thoroughly as I have done.

In addition to what I have mentioned, regulations restricting the use of unscientific methods of teaching spelling and technical grammar, particularly in the lower grades, might be made with advantage; and by proper restrictions concerning the use of text-books, better methods of teaching geography and history could not fail to result.

In regard to laws concerning the general management of the schools I suggest, in particular, the following:

First, laws prescribing the methods to be employed in the appointment of teachers, so that something would be done to prevent members of boards of education from using their positions for the purpose of patronage. The qualifications for receiving licenses to teach in city schools might be regulated by the State.

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Secondly, something might with advantage be done by the State to insure proper supervision for the city schools. It would be beneficial if laws were made to compel the cities to employ an adequate number of superintendents, by limiting the number of teachers to be placed in charge of a supervising officer. Again, it would be of value to enact laws which should make it compulsory for superintendents to meet their teachers a certain minimum number of times during each month in order to confer with them in regard to their grade work, and to instruct them in the science of education and in methods of teaching.

Finally, I suggest that for the purpose of enforcing such laws a board of five or six educational experts be permanently maintained by the State. It should be the duty of the members of this board to devote a part of their time to visiting schools in our own as well as in foreign countries, in order that they might become thoroughly conversant with the doings of educators in all parts of the civilized world. Studies of this nature would enable competent persons to obtain sufficient insight into the results of the various educational methods, to give them a truly scientific basis for action. If the members of the State Board of Education should introduce changes by reason of knowledge acquired in this way, they would be thoroughly justified in prohibiting the use of certain methods and in enforcing the employment of others, however unreasonable such measures might appear to teachers who are guided in their work by personal opinion, rather than by a knowledge of what is approved by the common consent of educational scientists. Thus, by slow and careful steps, the foundation of our school system would become ever more and more scientific. The greater part of the time of the members of the State Board of Education might be perhaps most profitably spent: first, in delivering pedagogical lectures to teachers in various parts of the State, somewhat on the principle of the work done by the agents of the State Board of Education of Massachusetts; and, secondly, in inspecting schools in order to observe that the State laws are properly carried into effect.

J. M. Rice.

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THE MOST POPULAR NOVELS IN AMERICA.

THE question, What do people read? is constantly asked, and answered as a rule in accordance with personal prepossessions or impressions rather than from data which throw light on the subject. We are told, on the one hand, that good books were never so widely read, and, on the other, that good books are no longer read, that literature has had its day, and that the magazine and the newspaper have taken the place of the sound and classic works upon which earlier and happier generations were nourished. What is the fact? It is idle to speculate, but it is immensely interesting when any kind of intellectual census gives us an exact impression of the average culture and the prevailing tastes of American readers.

There are, it must be remembered, not one reading public, but many reading publics in this country. There is a public which reads Shakspeare, Dante, and Goethe constantly and intelligently; there is another public which reads ephemeral stories; but neither of these publics represents the average of culture and taste. The taste of a representative public is most likely to be reached best by the count kept in the public libraries. Messrs. J. Selwin Tait and Sons, publishers, of New York recently asked from all the important libraries in the United States a report of the most popular novels, as shown by the number of times these books were called for. From each library a list of the one hundred and fifty most popular works of fiction was received. The lists were analyzed, and a table made of the relative popularity of each book. "David Copperfield," for example, was found to be on 92 per cent of these lists of the one hundred and fifty most popular novels, "Ivanhoe" on 88 per cent, and so on. The whole list which included many hundreds of titles and the relative popularity of the principal books are as follows:

Per cent.		Per cent.		Per cent.	
92.	David Copperfield	80.	Vanity Fair	75.	Les Miserables
88.	Ivanhoe	78.	Jane Eyre	76.	Little Women
87.	The Scarlet Letter	78.	The Last Days of Pompeii	72.	Little Lord Fauntleroy
86.	Uncle Tom's Cabin	77.	John Halifax, Gentleman	69.	Kenilworth
83.	Ben-Hur			68.	Ramona
80.	Adam Bede				

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Per cent.
65. The Marble Faun
64. Romola
63. Little Men
63. Robinson Crusoe
62. Lorna Doone
59. The Count of Monte Cristo
59. The Opening of a Chestnut Burr
58. Tom Brown at Rugby
54. Barriers Burned Away
54. Hypatia
54. The Mill on the Floss
53. Elsie Venner
52. The Innocents Abroad
51. The House of the Seven Gables
50. The Last of the Mohicans
49. The Old Fashioned Girl
49. Pickwick Papers
49. St. Elmo
48. Donovan
48. The Woman in White
47. Daniel Deronda
45. Arabian Nights
45. The Hoosier Schoolmaster
45. Nicholas Nickleby
45. Oliver Twist
45. The Old Curiosity Shop
45. Tom Brown at Oxford
44. The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table
44. Looking Backward
44. One Summer
44. Rudder Grange
44. The Scottish Chiefs
44. Saracinesca
44. The Wide Wide World
43. Dombey and Son
43. The Newcomes
43. The Spy
43. The Vicar of Wakefield
42. The Colonel's Daughter
42. Henry Esmond
42. The Pathfinder
42. We Two
41. The Deerslayer
41. The Little Minister
41. Middlemarch
41. Mr. Isaacs

Per cent.
41. Old Mam'selle's Secret
40. Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea
38. The Bow of Orange Ribbon
38. The Moonstone
38. The Swiss Family Robinson
37. Pendennis
36. Eight Cousins
36. The Reveries of a Bachelor
35. Tom Sawyer
35. Sant' Ilario
35. Bleak House
34. Boots and Saddles
34. The Heir of Redclyffe
34. Margaret Kent
34. A Princess of Thule
34. Rutledge
34. The Second Wife
34. That Lass o' Lowrie's
34. A Tale of Two Cities
33. Westward Ho
33. Rob Roy
33. Guy Mannering
33. Beulah
33. All Sorts and Conditions of Men
32. Dr. Claudius
32. On the Heights
32. The Rose in Bloom
32. Seven Oaks
31. Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde
30. Huckleberry Finn
30. Don Quixote
30. Robert Elsmere
29. Arthur Bonnicastle
29. East Lynne
29. Little Dorritt
29. Uarda
28. The Three Guardsmen
28. Thaddeus of Warsaw
28. Gulliver's Travels
28. An Egyptian Princess
28. Anne
27. Round the World in 80 Days
27. Gold Elsie

Per cent.
27. Infelice
27. Standish of Standish
27. The Silence of Dean Maitland
26. The Wooing o't
26. That Beautiful Wretch
26. Pilgrim's Progress
26. The Leavenworth Case
26. Charles O'Malley
25. Put Yourself in His Place
25. Queechy
24. Shirley
24. The Lamplighter
24. A Knight of the 19th Century
24. The Children of the Abbey
23. Birds' Christmas Carol
23. Guenn
23. John Ward, Preacher
23. Joe's Boys
23. The Last of the Barons
23. She
23. The Wandering Jew
22. Betty Alden
22. Joe Vedder's Wife
22. Don Orsino
22. The Heart of Midlothian
22. The Lady of the Aroostook
22. The Pilot
22. The Rise of Silas Lapham
22. The Story of a Bad Boy
21. Under the Lilacs
21. Roughing It
21. Next Door
21. Hans Brinker
21. Cudjo's Cave
21. Alice's Adventures in Wonderland
20. From Jest to Earnest
20. Helen's Babies
20. Lena Rivers
20. Marion's Faith
20. The Pioneers
20. The Prairie
20. Rienzi
20. The Talisman

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Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
20. Waverley	17. A Daughter of Heth	13. Harold
20. Consuelo	17. The First Violin	12. Corinne
19. Molly Bawn	16. Æsop's Fables	12. Gil Blas
18. A Hardy Norseman	16. My Novel	12. The Toilers of the Sea
18. Paul and Virginia	16. Under Two Flags	11. Lady Audley's Secret
18. Pride and Prejudice	14. Grimm's Fairy Tales	11. Tom Burke
18. Two Years before the Mast	14. Mosses from an Old Manse	10. Never too late to Mend
18. The Twice Told Tales	14. Ten Thousand a Year	10. The Luck of Roaring Camp
17. Cranford	13. The Cloister and the Hearth	

The following is the order of the authors in popularity as indicated by the number of times their names appear in the lists. It is interesting to compare this list with that which shows the popularity of each particular book. In this list, of course, the writer of many books has increasing chances, in proportion to the number of his books, of a popular rating.

1. Charles Dickens	20. Wilkie Collins	38*a*. Blackmore (one book, "Lorna Doone")
2. Louisa M. Allcott	21. Lew Wallace	39. Capt. Marryat
3. Walter Scott	22. C. M. Yonge	40. Rosa N. Carey
4. E. P. Roe	23. Washington Irving	41. J. M. Barrie
5. J. Fenimore Cooper	24. Charles Reade	42. Susan Warner
6. George Eliot	25. Victor Hugo	43. H. Rider Haggard
7. Nathaniel Hawthorne	26. W. D. Howells	44. Mrs. Alexander
8. O. W. Holmes	27. Charles Kingsley	45. Mrs. Hungerford (The Duchess)
9. E. Bulwer Lytton	28. Jules Verne	46. Thos. Hardy
10. W. M. Thackeray	29. Amelia Barr	47. G. A. Henty
11. H. B. Stowe	30. Jane Austin	47*a*. Edward Bellamy (one book)
12. Mrs. Burnett	31. Thos. Hughes	47*b*. Mrs. Ward (two books)
13. Mark Twain	32. E. D. Southworth	48. Charles Lever
14. Alexander Dumas	33. George Ebers	49. R. L. Stevenson
15. F. Marion Crawford	34. Marion Harland	50. Oliver Goldsmith
16. Edna Lyall	35. Miss Muloch	
17. William Black	36. Helen H. Jackson	
18. Frank R. Stockton	37. Geo. Macdonald	
19. Charlotte Bronté	38. Walter Besant	

This list, procured freshly from all the principal libraries in the United States, is probably as trustworthy and inclusive as any such list could be made, and is perhaps the best index to the popular taste. At first thought the reports of sales by publishers, if these could be secured, would seem to promise more conclusive results; but it must be remembered that books are sold in great numbers for private libraries which are set in order upon shelves but are very rarely disturbed by their owners. This is especially true of classic fiction, of the books of Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot and Hawthorne;

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books "without which no library is complete," and thousands of copies of which, in tasteful cloth or dignified calf, repose in dusty state in the company of their predecessors and contemporaries. The publishers' reports would supply the data of sales, but not the data of reading. Private libraries are often stagnant pools; the public library is always a running stream. Its function is not to collect but to distribute; and its reports furnish, therefore, the fullest and best data concerning the tastes of the reading public. The public uses the libraries even when it has libraries of its own; for it is the habit of many who collect books to depend on the public library for fiction.

And fiction is, on the whole, the most representative kind of literature; the kind, that is, that appeals to the greatest number of readers and the distribution of which covers the widest area. Moreover, fiction presents the greatest possible range of literary characteristics and the greatest diversities of artistic quality and workmanship. It supplies, therefore, not only a horizontal but a perpendicular standard of measurement; it reports, at the same time, the extent of the area of distribution, and the intelligence and culture of those who share in the distribution. For these reasons this list may be accepted as combining competency of preparation with scope of inquiry and accuracy of registry of taste. Indeed the method employed by the Messrs. Tait is regarded as the best test yet used for such a purpose.

The first, and distinctly the most important, question raised by such a list is that which touches the quality of the books most widely read. Is there any connection between literary quality and American popularity? Are great and noble works of art recognized by our public, or is popularity a matter of accidents? These questions are fundamental because they go to the heart of our popular culture: the answers made to them must necessarily reveal the presence or absence of the instinct for art, the perception of sound and noble work by readers at large; and these questions are vital, not only to the higher life of the country but to the immediate prosperity of genuine and worthy books. All things considered, the answers made by this list are distinctly encouraging—a matter, in fact, of patriotic pride. The books read present the greatest possible variety of excellence. There is, of course, a considerable infusion of inferior, and even of worthless books; but the fact remains that the sound books appear in great numbers and hold a high relative rank.

Of the eleven titles which head the list eight belong to novels

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which are among the greatest in all literature. The popular instinct is not astray in selecting "David Copperfield" out of the long list of Dickens's stories and giving it the foremost place. It is not so powerful a story as "A Tale of Two Cities," the most dramatic and soundly constructed of all the stories that Dickens gave the world, but it is far more characteristic, sweeter in sentiment, and as fresh in feeling and touch. It is the personal note which gives this beautiful tale its victorious appeal for the suffrages of the greatest number of readers. It is significant of a sound taste, also, that "The Old Curiosity Shop" and "Dombey and Son," in which, to recall Mr. Lang's phrase, Dickens wallowed in a sea of sentimentalism, appear well down on the list, and that "Barnaby Rudge" does not appear.

There is a wide difference of opinion with regard to the relative rank of Scott's novels. Mr. Lowell once said that "The Bride of Lammermoor" was to him the most beautiful story in the language. Mr. Lang puts "Old Mortality" and "Quentin Durward" at the top of the list. But from any point of view, the popular instinct was not far astray in fastening upon "Ivanhoe" as, on the whole, the most widely acceptable of these great stories. "Kenilworth" is not far behind, but "Guy Mannering" falls below the middle of the list for the very good reason that while the first two have clear movement and cumulative dramatic interest, the latter is very defective as a story. The hero is a secondary personage. "The Scarlet Letter" is beyond doubt the foremost story yet written on this continent, and the fact that it holds the third place in this long list is both suggestive and encouraging. "The Marble Faun" follows close upon its greater companion; for, however fascinating the later book in its subtle psychologic insight and however beautiful its art, it remains true that the earlier story surpasses it in closeness of construction and in depth and intensity of human interest. That a book of such quality finds so wide a reading shows that the finest art does not fail to charm when it allies itself with the deepest life. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" holds its place by virtue of its passionate intensity of feeling, its dramatic incidents, and the tradition of its great and effective influence on the generation to which it came with such impetus of moral indignation. The presence of "Ben-Hur" is due, no doubt, to its theme and to the picturesqueness of its episodes and the occasional vividness of its style. The popularity of these two books is by no means to be regretted, but it is devoid of significance so far as a taste for literature for its own sake is concerned.

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The choice of "Adam Bede" to represent George Eliot is again evidence of the soundness of the popular instinct; but it is not surprising to find many books preferred to "Daniel Deronda." Some people have a quiet way of testing the quality of a man's literary culture and determining the presence or absence of the instinct for literature by his feeling for Thackeray; and it is certainly true that no one of our novelists has given us so much literature in proportion to the mass of his writing as this splendid artist, whose briefest and most hurried notes disclose the touch of a master in every line. Thackeray's point of view is, however, widely misunderstood, and the deep and beautiful tenderness which underlies so much of his work does not make itself felt at the first glance. It is, therefore, gratifying to find "Vanity Fair" chosen to represent this master and holding a place so near the head of the column. This story is probably the greatest novel in our language. Less perfect in form, less delicate in insight into the finer qualities and in feeling for the subtler differences of personal and social ideals, than "Henry Esmond," it is more powerful, direct and compelling in its narrative force and its human interest. It is, indeed, one of the authentic documents of human history.

It is impossible to comment in detail in this long list; but it is significant of the average literary taste, and, therefore, of the popular culture, that of the first eleven books eight belong in the first rank as works of literature; that of the entire list of one hundred and seventy-seven not less than seventy-six are books of a very high, and in most cases of the highest order; that forty-two more come within the limits of literature; and that the books devoid of literary quality are in a very small minority. The leaders of English and American fiction in this century are, with some notable exceptions to be presently pointed out, represented in this list, together with works of such classic rank and fame as "The Arabian Nights," "The Swiss Family Robinson," "Don Quixote," "Pilgrim's Progress," "Consuelo," "Paul and Virginia," Grimm's "Fairy Tales," "Corinne," "Gil Blas," and "The Vicar of Wakefield."

In this connection a fact may be noted which seems to carry with it the inference that the general reader and the cultivated reader are in substantial accord in their judgment of the relative rank and interest of novels. Not long ago the "Critic" printed a list of books, each of which had received at least twenty-five votes in a general polling of its readers. Now, the "Critic," being distinctly a literary

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journal, must necessarily find its readers almost exclusively among people of literary taste and culture. That list is made up chiefly of essays, histories, and poetry, but it contains a few novels which, in the broad field of American literature, are agreed upon as "best books"; and among these are found, in order, "The Scarlet Letter," "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "Ben-Hur," "The Marble Faun," "The Last of the Mohicans," "Ramona," and "Little Women"; all books which appear in the Messrs. Taits' list from the librarians and in substantially the same order.

It is clear that the American reading public recognizes literary quality and prefers it when it is vitalized by deep and real human interests. It is clear also that this same public retains its old-time liking for a strong story-element; in other words, for dramatic quality and power. It prefers "Ivanhoe" to "Waverley," "The Scarlet Letter" to "The Marble Faun," "Uncle Tom's Cabin" to "Old Town Folks," "Adam Bede" to "Daniel Deronda," "Vanity Fair" to "Pendennis," and "Jane Eyre" to "Shirley"; and it prefers Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, Hawthorne, Mrs. Stowe and Charlotte Brontë to Mr. Howells, Dr. Holmes, Mr. James, and Mr. Black.

The foremost English and American novelists of the century, with a single significant exception, appear in the list, but there is a notable absence of foreign names. Hugo's "Les Miserables" is widely read, but of the notable movement of fiction in France and Russia the reading public in this country appears to have taken small account. Turgenieff finds no place in this list; nor does Tolstoi, Gogol or Dostoyevski. The masters of French fiction are also conspicuous by their absence; for there is no report of Flaubert, Balzac, Daudet, De Maupassant, or Zola. Ibsen and Björnson are unrecognized; and there is no record of the Spanish novelists whose names are very familiar to the smaller constituency of cultivated readers. The taste of the reading public is evidently for writers of our own language, save in the case of stories of classical fame; or, as in the case of "Les Miserables," of stories which appeal to a deep and wide solidarity of human interest; or, as in the case of "The Count of Monte Cristo," of stories of masterly dealing with the old-time and all-time elements of adventure and incident. It is true that the extension of a literary reputation beyond the circle of those who keep themselves in touch with literature is often very slow, and that a writer like Maarten Maartens is well known long before he is gener-

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ally known. There is, however, a certain native flavor about books in one's own language which is more to the taste of the great mass of men and women than the flavor of foreign life and thought which one gets in books in other languages than his own; and a novel must have very great power or very immediate timeliness to pass, under the guise of a translation, through the barriers of language. The appearance of "On the Heights" in this list is surprising, standing as it does between "Dr. Claudius" and "A Rose in Bloom"; and is evidence of a large element of thoughtfulness among average readers.

Of the younger English novelists, Mr. Black, Mr. Besant, Mr. Barrie, and Mr. Blackmore have gained a moderate share of attention, but Mr. Hardy, the most powerful and the most artistic writer of them all, is unnoticed. It is probable that the character of Mr. Hardy's plots and the theme which especially attracts him repel readers, who find the presentation of such aspects of life disturbing and who seek, above all, cheerfulness of mood. Mr. Meredith is shut off from extensive popularity by the difficulties of a style which at times conceals an opulence of thought possessed by no other living novelist in our language. Mr. Stevenson, who is an artist and a narrator of very high rank, is represented by a single book, and that book a psychologic story. "Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde" does not bear comparison with "Prince Otto" so far as style and the subtler qualities of imagination are concerned, nor with "Kidnapped" so far as narrative power and vivid, first-hand description are concerned; but it deals with a moral problem of universal personal significance, and deals with it in a daringly concrete manner. If it is true, as Mr. Howells has recently said, that the majority of readers in this country are women, this fact perhaps explains the apparent indifference to Mr. Stevenson's tales of adventure, which are among the few contemporary stories of original force and impulse. The same fact may explain the absence of Mr. Kipling's name; for the author of "Plain Tales from the Hills" is preëminently a writer for men.

This fact may also explain the absence from this list of the names of the novelists of the last century. So far as the general reading public is concerned, Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, and Miss Burney rest in unnoticed graves; while De Foe is saved from oblivion by the suffrages of boys and girls. "Robinson Crusoe" has survived "Rasselas" and hosts of personages once held in the highest respect. Jane Austin lives in one of her most charming stories. The preponderance of women among readers may explain also the compara-

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tively small interest in humor, and the comparatively great interest in sentiment. Upon what other ground can we explain the fact that those old fashioned tales of sighs and tears "Queechy," and "The Wide, Wide World," still find a wide reading? And what is it that keeps "Rutledge," "Beulah," and the "Lamplighter" still upon the stage when the audience to which they made their *début* has vanished?

There are singular contradictions in the popular selections from the American novels of recent years. It is pleasant to find that the art of Mr. Howells is not wholly without recognition; and it is perhaps safe to assume that the "Lady of the Aroostook" and "The Rise of Silas Lapham" would stand higher on the list if the magazine had not carried them far and wide in serial publication. Mr. Crawford stands well with his countrymen; Mr. Aldrich is best known, it appears, not in his inimitable short stories, but in his delightful "Story of a Bad Boy," a record of sin so entertaining that one does not need to inquire into the secret of its popularity. Mrs. Barr has many readers; Miss Alcott is not forgotten; and Mr. Roe retains a share of his former extraordinary popularity. Miss Howard and Mrs. Burnett keep company with Mrs. Jackson and Mrs. Wiggin. But how can the absence of most of the best names in recent native fiction be explained? There is no mention of Mr. Cable, of Mr. James, of Mr. Page, of Mr. Harris, of Mr. Garland, of Mr. Smith, of Miss Jewett, of Miss Murfree, of Miss Wilkins; and yet these are names known to lovers of books over the entire continent. Mr. James, it is true, is a writer for writers rather than for readers, and must content himself with the audience which finds its chief interest in the manner in which a thing is done rather than in the thing itself; but Mr. Cable, Mr. Page, Mr. Hopkinson Smith, and Mr. Harris strike root into our own soil. Does the publication in magazines forestall the demand for the book which in due time follows it?

This is a question easier asked than answered. And this is true of many other questions suggested by this list, which cannot be answered in this article. The reading public, so far as it uses the public libraries, is like some other publics; it has sound instincts, it knows good work; it is likely, in the long run, to remember what is sound and to forget what is bad; but it is somewhat capricious; it often fails to know its own mind; and it makes great blunders by the way. It is a public, however, with which no writer can safely trifle.

HAMILTON W. MABIE.

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SOME LASTING RESULTS OF THE WORLD'S FAIR.

FEW persons have stood in the Court of Honor at Chicago and felt the surpassing splendors gathered there, without a certain dismay over its swiftly approaching disappearance. Never in the world before has beauty been so lavish and so transient. Probably in all departments of the Fair a hundred million dollars have been spent. Now the nation's holiday is done, the little half-year is over, and the palaces with their widely-gathered treasures vanish like a dream. Is all indeed gone? Will nothing remain? Wise observers perceive some permanent results of the merry-making. What these will be in the busy life of men, others may decide: I point out chiefly a few of the beneficial influences of the great Fair on the life of women.

The triumph of women in what may be called their detached existence, that is, in their guidance of themselves and the separated affairs of their sex, has been unexpectedly great. The Government appointed an independent Board of Lady Managers who, through many difficulties, gathered from every quarter of the globe interesting exhibits of feminine industry and skill. These they gracefully disposed in one of the most dignified buildings of the Fair, itself a woman's design. Here they attractively illustrated every aspect of the life of women, domestic, philanthropic, commercial, literary, artistic, and traced their historic advance. Close at hand, in another building also of their own erection, they appropriately appeared as the guardians and teachers of little children. Their halls were crowded, their dinners praised, their reception invitations coveted. Throughout they showed organizing ability on a huge scale; they developed noteworthy leaders; what is more, they followed them, and they have quarreled no more, and have pulled wires less, than men in similar situations; their courage, their energy, their tact in the erection of a monument to woman were astonishing; and the efforts of their Central Board were efficiently seconded by similar companies in every State. As in the Sanitary and Christian Commissions and the hospital service of the war, in the multitude of women's clubs, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the

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King's Daughters, the associations for promoting women's suffrage, so once more here women found an opportunity to prove their ability as a banded sex; and it is clear that they awakened in the nation a deeper respect for their powers.

But the very triumph does away with its further necessity. Having amply proved what they can do when banded together, women may now the more easily cease to treat themselves as a peculiar people. Henceforth they are human beings. Women's buildings, women's exhibits, may safely become things of the past. At any future Fair no special treatment of women is likely to be called for. After what has been achieved, the self-consciousness of women will be lessened, and their sensitiveness about their own position, capacity, and rights will be naturally outgrown. The anthropologist may perhaps still assemble the work of a single sex, the work of people of a single color, or of those having blue eyes. But ordinary people will find less and less interest in these artificial classifications, and will more and more incline to measure men's and women's products by the same scale. Even at Chicago large numbers of women preferred to range their exhibits in the common halls rather than under feminine banners, and their demonstration of the needlessness of any special treatment of their sex must be reckoned as one of the most considerable of the permanent gains for women from the Fair.

If, then, women have demonstrated that they are more than isolated phenomena, that they should indeed be treated as integral members of the human family, in order to estimate rightly the lasting advantages they have derived from the Fair, we must seek those advantages not in isolations but in conjunctions. In the common life of man there is a womanly side and a manly side. Both have profited by one splendid event. Manufactures and transportation and mining and agriculture will hereafter be different because of what has occurred at Chicago; but so will domestic science, the training of the young, the swift intellectual interest, the finer patriotism, the apprehension of beauty, the moral balance. It is by growth in these things that the emancipation of women is to come about, and the Fair has fostered them all in an extraordinary degree.

Although the Fair was officially known as a World's Fair, and it did contain honorable contributions from many foreign countries, it was, in a sense that no other exhibition has been, a nation's Fair. It was the climacteric expression of America's existence. It gathered

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together our past and our present, and indicated not uncertainly our future. Here were made visible our beginnings, our achievements, our hopes, our dreams. The nation became conscious of itself, and was strong, beautiful, proud. All sections of the country not only contributed their most characteristic objects of use and beauty, but their inhabitants also came, and learned to know one another, and their land. During the last two years there has hardly been a village in the country which has not had its club or circle studying the history of the United States. No section has been too poor to subscribe money for maintaining National or State pride. In order to see the great result, men have mortgaged their farms, lonely women have taken heavy life insurance, stringent economy will gladly be practised for years. A friend tells me that she saw an old man, as he left the Court of Honor with tears in his eyes, turn to his gray-haired wife and say, "Well, Susan, it paid even if it did take all the burial money."

Once before, we reached a similar pitch of national consciousness —in war. Young, unprepared, divided against ourselves, we found ourselves able to mass great armies, endure long strains, organize campaigns, commissariats, hospitals, in altogether independent ways, and on a scale greater than Europe had seen. Then men and women alike learned the value of mutual confidence, the strength of coöperation and organization. Once again now, but this time in the interest of beauty and of peace, we have studied the art of subordinating fragmentary interests to those of a whole. The training we have received as a nation in producing and studying the Fair, must result in a deeper national dignity, which will both free us from irritating sensitiveness over foreign criticism, and give us readiness to learn from other countries whatever lessons they can teach. Our own provinces too will become less provincial. With increased acquaintance, the East has begun to drop its toleration of the West, and to put friendliness and honor in its place. No more will it be believed along the Atlantic coast that the Mississippi Valley cares only for pork, grain and lumber. As such superstitions decay, a more trustful unity becomes possible. The entire nation knows itself a nation, possessed of common ideals. In this heightened national dignity, women will have a large and ennobling share.

But further, from the Fair men, and women with them, have acquired a new sense of the gains that come from minute obedience to law. Hitherto, "go as you please" has been pretty largely the

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principle of American life. In the training school of the last two years of preparation and the six months of the holding of the Fair, our people, particularly our women, have been solidly taught the hard and needful lesson that whims, waywardness, haste, inaccuracy, pettiness, personal considerations, do not make for strength. Wherever these have entered, they have flawed the beautiful whole, and flecked the honor of us all. Where they have been absent results have appeared which make us all rejoice. Never in so wide an undertaking was the unity of a single design so triumphant. As an unknown multitude coöperated in the building of a mediæval cathedral, so throughout our land, multitudes have been daily ready to contribute their unmarked best for the erection of a common glory. We have thus learned to prize second thoughts above first thoughts, to league our lives and purposes with those of others, and to subordinate the assertion of ourselves to that of a universal reason. Hence has sprung a new trust in one another and a new confidence in our future. The friendliness of our people, already rendered natural by our democratic institutions, has received a deeper sanction. How distinctly it was marked on the faces of the visitors at the Fair! I was fortunate enough to spend several hours there on Chicago-Day when nearly seven hundred and fifty thousand people were admitted. The appearance of those plain, intelligent, happy, helpful thousands, all strangers and of all kinds, was the most encouraging sight one woman had at the Fair. It has been said that the moral education of a child consists in imparting to him the three qualities, obedience, sympathy, dignity. These all have been taught by the Fair, and women, more swiftly perceptive than men, have probably learned their lesson best.

One more profound effect of the Fair upon human character must be mentioned, on character in those features which are of especial importance to women. Our people have here gained a new sense of beauty, and of beauty at its highest and rarest, not the beauty of ornament and decoration, but that of proportion, balance, and ordered suitability of parts. Every girl likes pretty things, but the rational basis of beauty in the harmonious expression of use, and in furnishing to the eye the quiet satisfaction of its normal demands, seldom attracts attention. At Chicago these things became apparent. Each building outwardly announced its inner purpose. Each gained its effect mainly by outline and balance of masses rather than by richness of detail. Each was designed in reference to its site, and to its

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neighbor buildings. Almost every one rested the eye which it still stimulated. Color, form, purpose, proportion, sculpture, vegetation, stretches of water, the brown earth, all coöperated toward the happy effect. What visitor could see it and not have begotten in him the demand for beauty in his own surroundings? It is said that the Centennial Exhibition affected the domestic architecture and the household decoration of the whole Eastern seaboard. The Fair will do the same, but it will bring about a beauty of a higher, simpler sort. In people from every section, artistic taste has been developed, or even created; and not only in their houses, but in the architecture of their public buildings and streets shall we see the results of this vision of the White City by the Lake. Huddled houses in incongruous surroundings will become less common. At heart we Americans are idealists, and at a time when the general wealth is rapidly increasing, it is an indescribable gain to have had such a training of the æsthetic sense as days among the great buildings and nights on the lagoons have brought to millions of our people. The teachability of the common American is almost pathetic. One building was always crowded—the Fine Arts Building; yet great pictures were the one thing exhibited with which Americans have hitherto had little or no acquaintance. This beauty, connected essentially with the feminine side of life, will hereafter, through the influence of the Fair, become a more usual possession of us all.

If such are the permanent gains for character which women in common with men, yet even more than they, have derived from the Fair, there remain to be considered certain helps which have been brought to women in some of their most distinctive occupations. Of course they have had here an opportunity to compare the different kinds of sewing-machines, pianos, type-writers, telegraphs, clothes-wringers, stoves, and baby-carriages, and no doubt they will do their future work with these complicated engines more effectively because of such comparative study. But there are three departments which ancestral usage has especially consecrated to women, and to intelligent methods in each of these the Fair has given a mighty impulse. These three departments are the care of the home, the care of the young, and the care of the sick, the poor, and the depraved.

At Philadelphia in 1876 Vienna bread was made known, and the native article, sodden with saleratus, which up to that time had desolated the country, began to disappear. The results in cookery from the Chicago Exhibition will be wider. They touch the kitchen

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with intelligence at more points. Where tradition has reigned unquestioned, science is beginning to penetrate, and we are no longer allowed to eat without asking why and what. This new "domestic science"—threatening word—was set forth admirably in the Rumford Kitchen where a capital thirty-cent luncheon was served every day, compounded of just those ingredients which the human frame could be demonstrated to require. The health-food companies, too, arrayed their appetizing wares. Workingmen's homes showed on how small a sum a family could live, and live well. Arrangements for sterilizing water and milk were there, Atkinson cookers, gas and kerosene stoves. The proper sanitation of the home was taught, and boards of health turned out to the plain gaze of the world their inquisitorial processes. Numberless means of increasing the health, ease, and happiness of the household with the least expenditure of time and money were here studied by crowds of despairing housekeepers. Many, no doubt, were bewildered; but many, too, went away convinced that the most ancient employment of women was rising to the dignity and attractiveness of a learned profession.

When it is remembered that nine-tenths of the teachers of elementary schools are women, it can be seen how important for them was the magnificent educational exhibit. Here could be studied all that the age counts best in kindergarten, primary, grammar, high and normal schools, and in all the varieties of training in cookery, sewing, dressmaking, manual training, drawing, painting, carving. Many of the exhibitors showed great skill in making their methods apprehensible to the stranger.

And then there were the modes of bodily training, and the lamentable image of the misformed average girl; and in the children's building classes could actually be seen engaged in happy exercise, and close at hand appliances for the nursery and the playground. Nor in the enlarged prospects for woman's domestic life must those be omitted which tell how cheaply and richly the girl may now obtain a college training like her brother, and become as intelligent as he. No woman went away from the educational exhibits of the Fair in the belief that woman's sphere was necessarily narrow.

There is no need to dilate on the light shed by the Fair upon problems of sickness, poverty, and crime. Everybody knows that nothing so complete had been seen before. The Anthropological Building was a museum of these subjects, and scattered in other

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parts of the Fair was much to interest the puzzled and sympathetic soul. One could find out what an ideal hospital was like, and how its service and appliances should be ordered. One studied under competent teachers the care of the dependent and delinquent classes. One learned to distinguish surface charity from sound. As men grow busier and women more competent, the guidance of philanthropy passes continually more and more into the gentler hands. Women serve largely on boards of hospitals, prisons, charities, and reforms, and urgently feel the need of ampler knowledge. The Fair did much to show them ways of obtaining it.

Such are the permanent results of the Fair most likely to affect women. They fall into three classes: the proofs women have given of their independent power; their ability to organize and to work toward a distant, difficult and complex end, the enlargement of their outlook, manifesting itself in a new sense of membership in a nation, a more willing obedience to law, and a higher appreciation of beauty; and, lastly, the direct assistance given to women in their more characteristic employments of housekeeping, teaching and ministering to the afflicted. That these are all, or even the most important, results which each woman will judge she has obtained, is not pretended. Everybody saw at the Fair something which brought to individual him or her a gain incomparable.

And, after all, the greatest thing was the total, glittering, murmurous, restful, magical, evanescent Fair itself, seated by the blue waters, wearing the five crowns, served by novel boatmen, and with the lap so full of treasure that as piece by piece it was held up, it shone, was wondered at, and was lost again in the pile. This amazing spectacle will flash for years upon the inward eye of our people, and be a joy of their solitude.

ALICE FREEMAN PALMER.

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THE FAIR'S RESULTS TO THE CITY OF CHICAGO.

In an article published in the July number of "The Forum," entitled "The World's Fair Balance-Sheet," I ventured to indicate the probable outcome of the Fair from a purely financial point-of-view. It may, therefore, be allowable in a brief paper about its wider results to the City of Chicago, to give, so far as now possible (November 6), a statement of its financial results. The Fair was opened May 1, with obligations to contractors and upon contracts not completed of something over $3,000,000, and with a bonded indebtedness of $4,500,000. The expenditures to that date were nearly $20,000,000. The operating expenses were about $100,000 per week. From the gate receipts and concessions enough has been received to defray current expenses, to pay the indebtedness before named in full, and the treasurer has now a balance of $2,500,000. The money received from the City of Chicago, from stockholders, and from the National Government was in all $12,500,000. It is expected that uncollected balances and salvage will cover future disbursements, in which case, the direct financial result will be a loss of $10,000,000, with an indirect loss in buildings and enterprises in various ways connected with the Fair, of as much more.

Turning now to the wider and more permanent results, these may be principally summarized under two heads. First, and least important, it has made Chicago and its people known to the world. It has demonstrated that Chicago is no longer a rude, provincial town, a greatly overgrown village, but a metropolitan city, one of the world's great capitals; one of its centres of intelligence, culture, intellectual and artistic power. Among its inhabitants are men still active in business affairs who have seen its growth from an Indian trading-post, yet in this Exposition its citizens have attained to a point in civilization higher than—but I leave others to describe it. They have raised the curtain upon a new act in the drama of the forward and upward march of the Republic. They have given to the world a vision of supreme beauty, which dwarfs and overshadows all past achievements. Their work is the inspiration of the century and its most priceless gift to the coming days. The city which has

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produced these results can never hereafter be regarded as other than in the foremost rank. In this vast work, its public spirit, its loyalty to the highest ideals, its civic pride, and its enlightened liberality have won from all intelligent observers the gratitude which is given without stint to those who have lifted the human race to a higher plane and widened its horizon.

The second and most important result to the City of Chicago is the awakening among all its people of an appreciation of artistic effort and its value. Chicago has heretofore been regarded, and justly, as a city given largely to the mad pursuit of wealth, and to materialistic aims. This was the inevitable result of its youth. In the evolution of a new city, as of an individual life, material wants at first transcend in importance all questions of religion or of art. The accumulation of wealth has in all times been the precursor of high artistic achievement. It is but recently that Chicago has become possessed of surplus wealth, but before the Fair two free libraries, the Newberry and the Crerar, had been founded by public spirited citizens, each with an endowment of more than $3,000,000, which, with the Public Library and the University library, may make Chicago in the near future the resort and home of students of every department of knowledge. Its new University has been organized on a scale of unexampled breadth, and it is richly endowed, partly by Chicago citizens, but more largely by Mr. Rockefeller, who has intimated that his millions already given are but a foretaste of those yet to come. The Armour Institute, too, with its endowment of one and a half millions, is the gift of one of Chicago's most widely known citizens, as a training school of broad compass in the technical and industrial arts.

As a direct outcome of the Fair, is now added to these the great Museum, which will doubtless bear the name of Marshall Field. This has already been made the recipient of most valuable donations from many exhibitors at the Fair, and it was made possible by the munificent subscription of one million dollars by Mr. Field, Chicago's most illustrious merchant, who has thus recognized his obligations to Chicago, the marvellous growth and development of which was the foundation of his fortune. This Museum, while not, of course, comparable with the vast museums of older nations, will from the beginning be unexcelled in its exhibits illustrating American Anthropology. Another donation of $200,000 by Mr. Potter Palmer has already been made, under the impulse given by the Fair, for a

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Woman's Memorial Building, to contain a museum of woman's work of all times and nations, with halls for meetings to encourage the enlargement of woman's aims and fields of labor.

These significant facts are indications that the qualities which have given Chicago place and power among the great cities of the world, now that the fierce first struggle for existence and wealth is past, are beginning to be turned to some extent into other paths. This work was done in part before the Fair and was of the same spirit that produced the Fair. But since the Fair will give a great impulse to every effort at artistic development, the instances cited of the liberality of our citizens are pertinent as showing the far greater results in the same lines which may be expected hereafter.

The appreciation of the use and value of beauty and of the arts which make gentle and embellish life, has, by the object lesson of the Fair, been far more widely diffused among our people than ever before, more widely than would have been possible for a generation in any other way. Before the eyes of the people for months have been stately domes, the noble columns and harmonious groups of palaces, forming an artistic creation of rare perfection. The landscape artist's work has given to these palaces a setting suited to their effectiveness. The results of this must be a vast improvement in our domestic and public architecture; more care in adapting buildings to their special environment, as illustrated by the Fair in the interdependence of landscape and architecture; and an elimination of the grotesque, which has hitherto characterized our struggles against monotony. Our people have been educated to a higher standard by the dignified and symmetrical refinement of the White City.

In addition to the effects of the architectural excellences of the Fair, the representations of the arts and industries of all peoples will have a lasting and permanent effect upon the public in softening the crudeness of provincial taste, and in vastly increasing the number of those who can appreciate and enjoy the artistic.

And in the Parliament of Religions, so admirably organized by Dr. Barrows, was shown, as never before, to audiences from all the world, the substantial unity in essentials of all religions and the immeasurable folly of theological controversies and wars; and there was witnessed the dawning of that day of universal charity and tolerance in matters of belief, which should and will ultimately prevail, inasmuch as are made of one blood all nations of men.

FRANKLIN H. HEAD.

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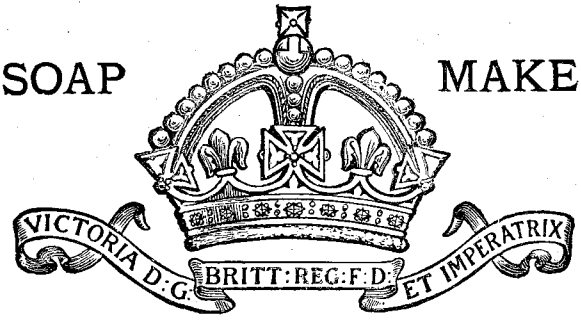
PEARS

SOAP 

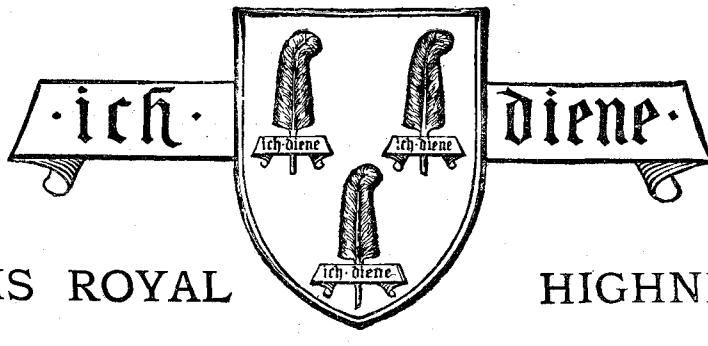
MAKERS,

By Special Appointment

TO HER MAJESTY

THE QUEEN

AND



HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE OF WALES.

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WRITERS IN THE DECEMBER FORUM.

MR. WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE (*Are Presidential Appointments for Sale?*), born in New York November 20, 1848, was graduated at Columbia College in 1869. He moved to Indiana in 1876, where he entered upon a political career, and served in the State Senate for four years. He has always taken great interest in all movements towards political reform, and has particularly interested himself in the cause of civil service reform. He is the President of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association and also of the American Proportional Representative League. He is the author of many essays and pamphlets advocating his political doctrines.

MR. A. AUGUSTUS HEALY (*Necessity for Immediate Tariff Reduction*) is one of the prominent business men of New York City, who has long made a special study of economic subjects, having the advantage both of a scientific knowledge of these subjects and of the practical experience that comes from a successful business career. He has long been prominently identified with all the principal agencies for the spread of tariff-reform doctrines. Mr. Healy is one of the most public-spirited citizens of Brooklyn, in which city he has his residence.

THE HON. WILLIAM J. COOMBS (*A Plea for an Automatic Business-like Tariff*), born at Jordan, Onondaga Co., N. Y., in 1833, was prepared for college, at the Jordan Academy, but his application for admission to Union College was rejected on account of his age, he being then but thirteen and one-half years old. Two years later he came to New York City, and at sixteen was made manager of a wholesale dry-goods house. In 1855 he became engaged in the export trade, and remained in that business (he is a member of the Coombs, Crosby & Eddy Company, an exporting corporation in New York) until he entered the Fifty-second Congress. He became an ardent low-tariff man as a result of observations made in the conduct of his business, and was nominated and elected to Congress on that issue in spite of a normal adverse majority of 6,500.

REV. JULIUS H. WARD (*Francis Parkman and his Work*), born in Charlton, Mass., October 12, 1837, was graduated at Yale in 1860, and at the Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn., in 1862, and immediately afterward took orders in the Episcopal Church. He served several churches in various New England States as rector until 1878, since which time he has devoted himself to literary work. In 1877 he was one of the editors of the *North American Review*. He has published a variety of works on both secular and religious subjects. Mr. Ward was a close personal friend of Mr. Parkman and enjoyed his confidence.

MR. G. STANLEY HALL (*Child-Study: the Basis of Exact Education*), born at Ashfield, Mass., in the year 1845, was graduated at Williams College in 1867, and then went abroad and studied for some time at Berlin, Bonn, Heidelberg, and Leipsic. He was Professor of Psychology at Johns Hopkins University from

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1882 to 1888; since that time he has been President of Clark University at Worcester, Mass. Mr. Hall has been a voluminous writer on psychological and educational subjects, he has translated many German philosophical works into English, and is more thoroughly identified in the public mind with the advancement of psychology as a basis of education than any other of our great educational leaders.

MR. WILLIAM E. H. LECKY (*Israel among the Nations*), born in Ireland in 1838, was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. In 1861 he published anonymously his first work, "Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland." He then turned his attention to philosophical and historical subjects, and in 1865 his great "History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe" appeared, and won for him a place among the leading historians of his time. In 1869 he published a "History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne." For the next ten years he devoted himself to the preparation of a "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," the first two volumes of which were issued in 1878. He now holds a position among the foremost historians of the century.

DR. DANIEL G. BRINTON (*The Beginning of Man and the Age of the Race*), born in Chester County, Pa., May 13, 1837, was graduated at Yale in 1858, and at the Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, in 1861. He entered the Union army in 1862 as acting assistant surgeon, and in October, 1864, was appointed medical director of his corps. After the close of the war he became editor of *The Medical and Surgical Reporter* in Philadelphia, and also of the *Compendium of Medical Science*. While in college he became interested in ethnology and prosecuted his studies in that field until, in 1884, he was made Professor of Ethnology and Archæology in the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia. He is the author of a large number of works on medical and ethnological subjects, and in 1886 was awarded the medal of the "Société Américaine de France" for his "numerous and learned works on American ethnology." His researches have been largely among the various American aboriginal races, and he is among the foremost anthropologists of the time.

MR. THOMAS G. SHEARMAN (*Need, not of "More Money," but Better Exchange*), born in Birmingham, England, November 25, 1834, came to New York when nine years old, and was educated by private tutors. He was admitted to the bar in Kings County in 1859, and gained a large practice in New York City. Mr. Shearman has taken a leading part in the movement towards lower tariff and unrestricted commerce, and is the author of many articles championing his ideas.

MR. JOHN BACH MCMASTER (*How to Deal with a Filibustering Minority*), born in Brooklyn, N. Y., June 29, 1852, was graduated at the College of the City of New York in 1872. After spending a year in teaching, and in studying civil engineering he began his "History of the People of the United States," for which he had begun the collection of material while in college. He was appointed instructor in civil engineering at Princeton in 1877, and in 1883 was made Professor of American History at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1883 he published the first volume of his "History of the People of the United States," which attained immediate success. He has also published, besides other volumes of this history, a life of Benjamin Franklin in the "Men of Letters" series, and many essays on historical and governmental subjects.

MR. FREDERIC HARRISON (*Uses of Rich Men in a Republic*) was born in 1831 and in 1853 was elected Fellow and tutor at Oxford. He became a barrister, and in 1877 was appointed Professor of Jurisprudence and International Law by the Council of Legal Education. He is the chief exponent of the Positivist school,

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is a critic of authority, and a great master of English prose. Among his works are, "The Meaning of History," "Social Statics," "Order and Progress," and "Oliver Cromwell." He is a frequent contributor to the best periodical literature.

MR. WOODROW WILSON (*Mr. Goldwin Smith's "Views" on our History*), born in Stanton, Va., December 28, 1856, was graduated at Princeton College in 1879. He studied law at the University of Virginia and entered upon the practice of his profession in Atlanta, Ga. He soon abandoned the law and took a post-graduate course in History and Political Science at Johns Hopkins University, receiving the degree of Ph.D. from that University in 1886. He was Associate in History at Bryn Mawr College, Pa., in 1885–86, and Associate Professor in History and Political Science in the same institution in 1886–88. He then accepted the chair of History and Political Economy in Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. Since September, 1890, he has been Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy at Princeton College. He is author of "Congressional Government: a Study in American Politics," a work which has attracted wide attention both in this country and Europe, and has contributed largely to "The National Revenues," a collection of essays by prominent American economists, besides publishing many other articles on economic subjects.

DR. J. M. RICE (*A Plan to Free the Schools from Politics*), born in Philadelphia in 1857, was graduated at the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1881. He took a course of Psychology and Pedagogy at the Universities of Jena and Leipsic, after which he studied the school work of various European countries. Dr. Rice, in the service of THE FORUM, visited the public schools in thirty-six cities of the United States, spending every school-hour in school-rooms, making investigations upon which he based a series of articles which attracted wide spread attention not only in this country, but abroad. He is a recognized authority on questions relating to public education.

MR. HAMILTON WRIGHT MABIE (*The Most Popular Novels in America*), is a graduate of Williams College and the Columbia Law School, and the associate editor with Dr. Lyman Abbott of *The Outlook*. He has written "My Study Fire," a volume of literary meditations; "Short Studies in Literature," a discussion of literature as an universal art; "Under the Trees and Elsewhere," a collection of out-of-doors papers; and "Norse Stories Retold from the Eddas." He is an occasional contributor to the magazines, and lecturer on literary and social subjects.

MRS. ALICE FREEMAN PALMER (*Some Lasting Results of the World's Fair*), was born at Colesville, Broome Co., N. Y., 1855; was graduated at the University of Michigan in 1876, and in 1879 she became Professor of History at Wellesley College, and in 1882 was chosen President of that institution. She held this post until 1888, when she resigned and was married to Prof. George H. Palmer, of Harvard University. Mrs. Palmer is a member of the Massachusetts Board of Education, and she has written and lectured often on educational subjects.

MR. FRANKLIN H. HEAD (*The Fair's Results to the City of Chicago*), was born in 1835 in Oneida County, New York; was graduated in 1856 from Hamilton College and studied law under the late Professor Theodore W. Dwight. He practised his profession for nine years in Wisconsin and subsequently moved to Chicago and engaged in commercial pursuits. He has been twice President of the Union League Club of Chicago and is Vice-President of the American Trust and Savings Bank, and he is a leading member of several mercantile firms. Mr. Head is the author of a delightful little volume on "Shakespeare's Insomnia."

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covers the tender period of growth when the body must have materials for healthy flesh and bone development. Otherwise the child will be thin, narrow-chested and weak.

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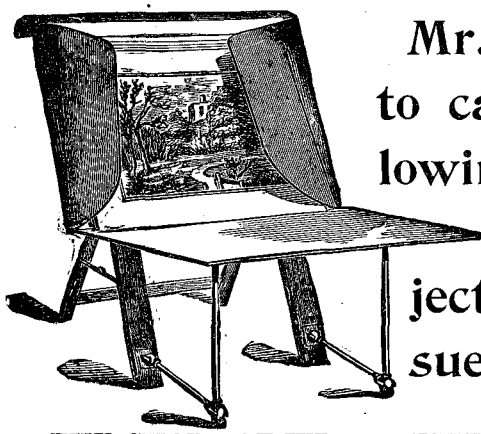
Season of 1893-94.

Klackner's Fine Art Publications



Mr. Klackner has the honor to call attention to the following list, compiled from that of many New Subjects which he has just issued for the Season of '93-94:

THE CHOIR AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY. *Etched by Henry Crickmore.* A view looking in perspective at the grand altar in the apse. Illuminated by sunlight through the stained glass windows of the apse and the nave.

FRIENDLY COMPETITORS. *Etched by Jules Jacquet, from the painting by A. A. Lesrel.* Two men at arms, in the costume of the Sixteenth Century, are passing through a sumptuously appointed palace ante-chamber to make a trial of their skill as marksmen, with the arquebuses which they carry on their shoulders.

ON THE BEST OF TERMS. *Etched by E. Abot, after the picture by Nina Hardy.* A Grandfather and Grandchild in that sympathetic communion which brings old age and youth together as one.

THE RETURNING HERD. *Photogravure from the original picture by Silas S. Dustin.* A bright and sunny landscape, enlivened by cattle going homeward from the pasture.

WANDERING THOUGHTS. *Etched by Armand Mathey, after the painting by Sydney Muschamp.* A young monk who has been essaying one of his own compositions at the organ of the monastery, has fallen into a reverie over new suggestions and ideas which the music arouses in him.

THE STANDARD BEARER. *Etched by L. Ruet, after the original picture by Meissonier.* A gentleman of the Royal Guard, period of Louis XIII of France, advancing through the portal of the palace with his banner on his shoulder. This picture, painted in 1875, is one of the most famous Meissoniers of this title.

CHARLES SURFACE, SELLING THE PORTRAITS OF HIS ANCESTORS. *Photogravure from the painting by Stephen Lewin.* A subject from the third scene of the third act of Sheridan's "School for Scandal." Charles Surface, compelled by his extravagances to raise money at any cost, is exhibiting the family portraits to the broker, Moses, and his assumed customer, who is Sir Oliver Surface, who has come incognito to relieve the embarrassments of his nephew. Charles's friend, Careless, mounted on a chair, acts as auctioneer.

THE CRITICAL QUESTION. *Etched by E. Abot, from the water-color painting by Leon Moran.* Seated on a low park wall, a country gentleman of the last century is awaiting from his rural sweetheart the answer which she may make to his proposition of eternal devotion.

HAPPY MOMENTS. *Etched by E. Abot, from the water-color painting by Leon Moran.* Two gentlemen of the last century, seated over their wine, one smoking a long-stemmed pipe while his friend twangles a tune upon a mandolin.

BREAKING HOME TIES. *Photogravure from the original painting by Thomas Hovenden.* Exhibited at the World's Fair, Chicago, 1893. The eldest son of the family is bidding farewell, and the tender and pathetic sentiment which accompanies the parting on such occasions is admirably expressed.

OTHER PLATES TO BE ADVERTED TO are "The Quilting Bee," a photogravure after a painting by Edgar M. Ward; "Daybreak," by Camille Fonce, an etching; "A Close Call," photogravure, three panels in one, after Thomas Blinks, etc Mr. Klackner would also call attention to his collection of pictures in oil and water colors, an inspection of which, as well as of his publications, is invited at his gallery.

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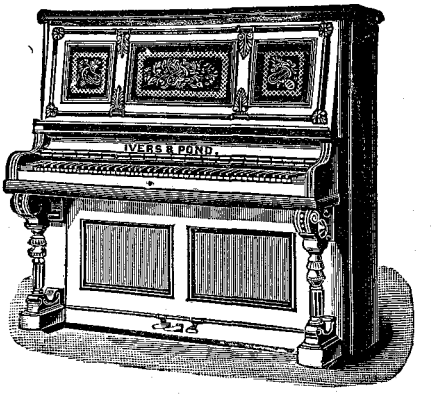

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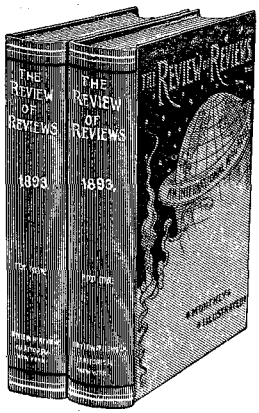

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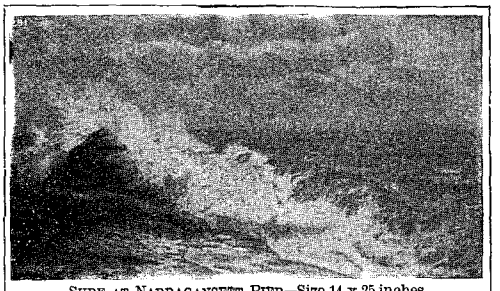
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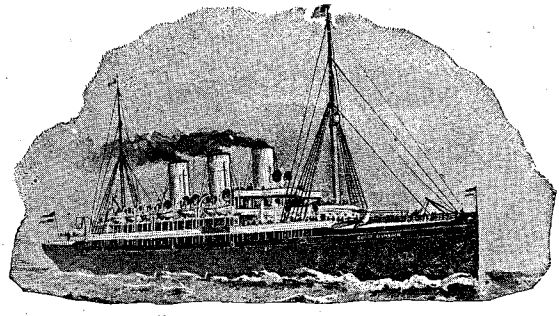

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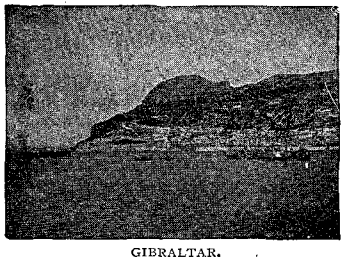
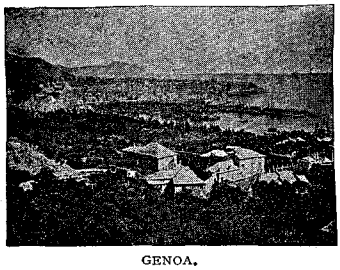


GIBRALTAR.

Nothing, therefore, is more natural than the desire to visit the scenery of so much charm and such varied attraction. It remained for modern ingenuity to furnish the means for the gratification of such desires, enabling travelers to enjoy all the comforts of civilization, and combining marvelous speed with the utmost degree of safety.



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The Mediterranean Winter service of the Hamburg-American Line offers the ideal agency for pleasure travel. Magnificent twin-screw steamers of 13–16,000 horse-power, combining the most luxurious accommodations with unsurpassed speed and safety, will make, beginning Nov. 4th, regular trips to *Algiers, Naples, Genoa*, also to *Algiers, Naples*, and *Alexandria*, Egypt. The Hamburg-American Line, in placing Algiers within reach of the American traveling public, has met with general approval. Algiers has of late been highly recommended by the best medical authorities of both hemispheres as one of the most beneficent health resorts for invalids and convalescents.

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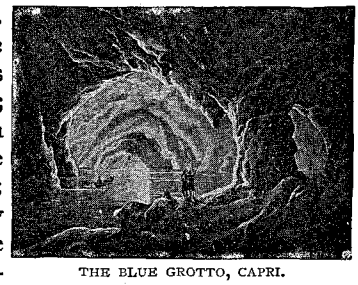
Aside from this the old African city is of unique originality and attractiveness. Speaking of this new departure of the Hamburg-American Line, the New York *Sun* says editorially: "In Algiers and Algeria there is novelty indeed; and there are also antiquities of rare interest to the inquisitive mind. There are Oriental ways and customs; there is Moorish and Byzantine architecture; there are many mosques; there are Arabs, Berbers, Turks, Moors, Negroes, Kulughs, Frenchmen Jews, Maltese, and Spaniards; there are camels and dromedaries; there are queer



THE BLUE GROTTO, CAPRI.

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spectacles of all kinds. . . . There are French hotels in Algiers, besides others not French. The French government keeps good order there.

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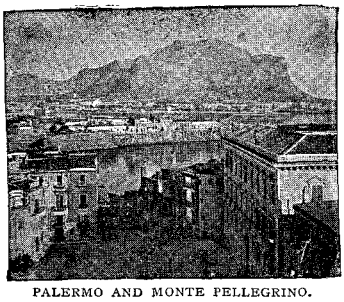
There are health resorts along the coast, at which invalids get well. It is the best place in North Africa for a tourist."

Of *Naples* and its vicinity, of the grand Vesuvius, and the beautiful islands Ischia and Capri it is hardly necessary to speak. Neither need we enter at length into a description of the magnificent *Genoa*, or point out the many attractions of the lakes and cities of upper Italy. Travelers who wish to go to Switzerland, to Tyrol, to the Riviera, or to the South of France will find Genoa the most convenient starting-point.



PALERMO AND MONTE PELLEGRINO.

Some of the Mediterranean trips will include *Alexandria*, Egypt's maritime gate. Visions of the Nile, of Cairo, of the Pyramids, of all the grand sights of Cleopatria's realm rise up in the traveler's mind as he approaches the land of the Pharaohs.

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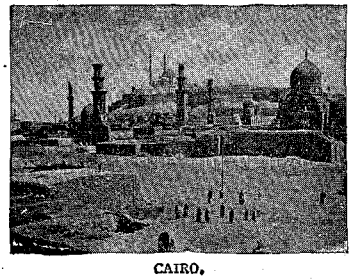
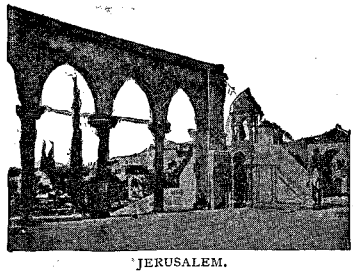


CAIRO.



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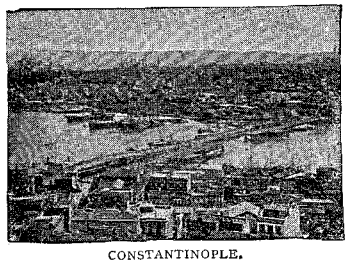

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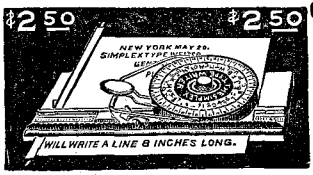

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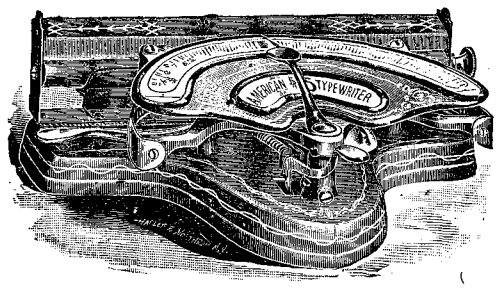

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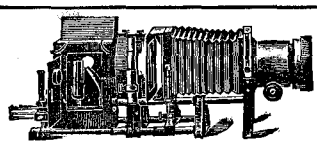

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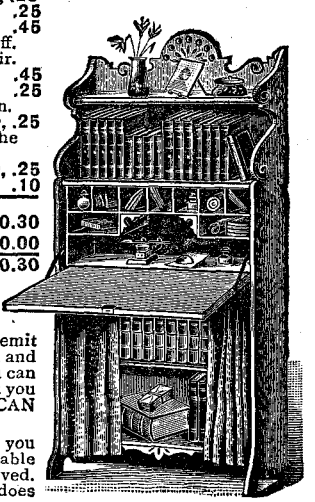

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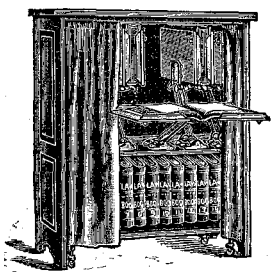

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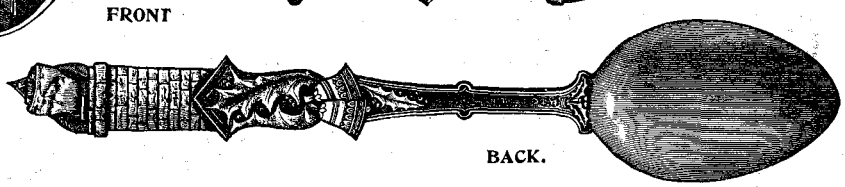

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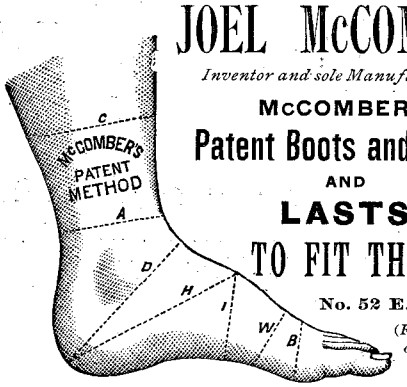
disappear—pimples are quickly removed—and the face becomes soft—fresh and bright—if you use the GENUINE **"Yankee"** Soap—for Shaving

For sale at all drug stores or sent, post paid, by the makers—on receipt of 15c. in stamps. Address The J. B. WILLIAMS CO., Glastonbury, Ct.

WILLIAMS'—GENUINE "Jersey Cream" Toilet Soap 25c.

Try it for Rough Hands-Heals-Softens-Beautifies.



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Inventor and sole Manufacturer of

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Patent Boots and Shoes

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TO FIT THE FEET

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GOOD FEET saved from PAIN AND DISTORTION.

DISTORTED FEET MADE COMFORTABLE.

McCOMBER'S SPECIALTIES ARE

PERFECT COMFORT,

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ARE THE BEST.

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RECEIVED BY US ON GARMENTS OF

RUSSIAN SABLE, MINK, NATURAL HUDSON BAY OTTER, DYED HUDSON BAY OTTER, SEALSKIN, FISHER, FUR PELTS DRESSED READY FOR USE, ALL KINDS.

THE NEW NECK BOA, with head and claws in perfect representation of the animal, in all leading fashionable furs, which will be found useful for one's own use or for **Christmas Gifts.**

Goods sent post-paid, at following prices:

Genuine mink, $5; better grade, $8; and the handsomest for $10. Genuine Hudson's Bay Sable, good quality, $10; better for $15; handsome for $20; very handsome, $25; and the darkest and choicest for $30. Russian Sable, $50, $75, $100, $150, $200, $250.

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For the Skin, Scalp and Complexion.

A Medicinal Toilet Soap, Pure and Antiseptic, Matchless for Bathing, Shaving and Beautifying.

THE RESULT OF TWENTY YEARS' PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE IN DERMATOLOGY.

WILL YOUR FACE STAND CLOSE INSPECTION? Get the hand-mirror. Take a good look at yourself.

DON'T THROW YOUR FACE AWAY. No matter if you are tired of it. Don't let it go until you have read DR. WOODBURY'S Book or called upon him.

THE NEW FACIAL INSTRUMENT is applicable to all fleshy parts of the body, and should be on the toilet table of every lady and gentleman.

IF YOUR EYEBROWS were a little thicker you would be much prettier. It can be done.

DANDRUFF, Warts, Pimples and Itching of the Scalp cured.

YOUR EARS are ill-shaped. They stand out too far from the head.

YOUR CHEEKS are sunken in. Don't use plumpers, but read the article on Facial Development by JOHN H. WOODBURY, Dermatologist.

SUPERFLUOUS HAIR permanently removed by the electric needle, never to return again.

PRETTY AS YOU are, you are not attractive when Pimples and Pustules are on your face.

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THE BEARD LINE. If the hair is above the beard line or between the eyes, it can be permanently removed.

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YOUR FACE, you say, tans easily. Well, WOODBURY'S Facial Soap was not made to eat; it was made for the purpose of taking away the tan and lots of other blemishes, too.

ACTRESSES SAVE their nice complexions by using WOODBURY'S FACIAL SOAP in washing off the makeup. All the latest theatrical trunks have a special place built in the side to hold Facial Soap.

WOODBURY'S FACIAL SOAP is considered a "Mascotte" in many of the New York Hospitals. You see, the soap contains a disinfectant, and it is valuable in such places because they will only use the best.

I CAN'T take the spots off a frog. Soap was not invented for that purpose, but WOODBURY'S FACIAL SOAP will make the human skin most beautiful to look upon, at druggists, or by mail.

PHYSICIANS STAND by WOODBURY'S FACIAL SOAP because there is nothing quack about it. It took years before Facial Soap was originally perfected and put on public sale.

OLD DISCOLORED SECRETIONS pack up and get out quick when WOODBURY'S FACIAL SOAP marches in upon them. They can't stand Facial Soap. It is one too many for them.

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FRECKLES GROW LARGER all the time—you, of course, can't see them grow. They grow when you are asleep. Send for a book.

GUNPOWDER MARKS and Coal Pittings are erased from the skin without a knife or pain.

BIRTHMARKS ARE REMOVED by PROF. JOHN H. WOODBURY because he takes a particular kind of interest in this kind of work—and, too, because some blockhead has probably said you could not be cured.

IF YOU WERE CAUGHT in a railroad accident and received a scar or blemish on the face, you would sue for $5,000 damages. Still you go around with a lot of pimples on your face and imagine yourself contented.

IF YOU DRAW THE FLIES about you it is your own fault, for I can remove all bad odors about the body. I do it with WOODBURY'S FACIAL SOAP. It is the only soap that can be used in salt water.

A RED NOSE IS NOT always sign of drink.

WOODBURY'S FACIAL SOAP is the modern perfected Soap for bathing and cleansing the skin and scalp, removing the odors of perspiration from the body, preserving, toning and strengthening the skin, curing Blackheads, Oily Skin, Pimples and Slight Eruptions, removing and preventing Dandruff, and keeping the hair from falling out.

It is prepared by a Dermatologist who for over twenty years has been treating the human skin. Removing Moles, Warts and Superfluous Hair, Birthmarks, Powdermarks, Red Nose, Scars, Pittings, Wrinkles, Correcting Pug Noses, setting back Ears that stand out too far from the head, Developing Thin Faces, etc., etc.

Woodbury's Facial Soap for the Skin, Scalp and Complexion, three cakes for $1.00. Woodbury's Antiseptic Shaving Sticks, 25 cts. Barbers' Bars, 15 cts., two for 25 cts.

FOR SALE BY DRUGGISTS OR SENT BY MAIL.

A Sample Cake of **Facial Soap** and 150-page book, 7th edition, on "Beauty and Dermatology," with special chapters on Facial Development, Treatment of the Eyebrows, Superfluous Hair, Red Noses, Wrinkles and Blood Diseases, and all Skin and Scalp Imperfections, sent sealed for 10 cents to any address. This book should be on every dressing table.

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CONSULTATION FREE AT OFFICE OR BY LETTER. ESTABLISHED 1870.

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You Men

Kin talk about the pies
Your mothers used to make,
An' kin do a heap o' braggin'
Just for old acquaintance sake.
But there aint a man amongst you,
Ef he told his story straight,
Who wouldn't say them lardy pies
Is raythur out o' date.
Who wouldn't own that many nights
They've kept him wide awake,
Or give him most terrific dreams,
Or p'r'aps an awful ache.
And furthermore there aint a man,
(Onless he's mighty mean),
But what'll say that pastry made
With pure, sweet COTTOLENE,
Is better'n any other kind—
An' wholesomer to eat.
An' spite o' all his Mother's pies,
He'll say it can't be beat.

COTTOLENE is sold everywhere in 3 and 5 lb. pails. Be sure that you get only the genuine.

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is the person who for years has been suffering from indigestion, dyspepsia and general debility, when he discovers the curative properties of

BURNHAM'S CLAM BOUILLON.

In all gastric troubles it effects a permanent cure. It is a natural food, easily digested. Stop taking drugs and try it.

Never buy Clam Bouillon for the Sick, except in Glass Bottles.

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CUT THIS OUT and send it to us with your name and address and we will send you this watch by express for examination. A Guarantee For 5 Years and chain & charm sent with it. You examine it and if you think it a bargain pay our sample price, $2.50, and it is yours. It is beautifully engraved and warranted the best time-keeper in the World for the money and equal in appearance to a genuine Solid Gold Watch. Write to-day, this offer will not appear again.
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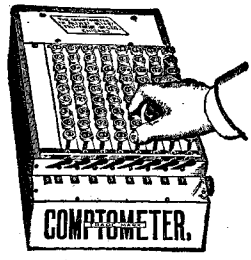

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Save time, avoid mistakes and do not ruin their nerves. It is operated by keys, like a typewriter, and performs addition, multiplication, division, interest, etc., etc.

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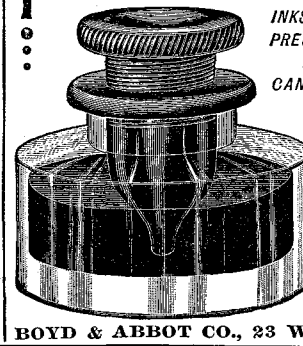

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An elegant descriptive Pamphlet sent on application.

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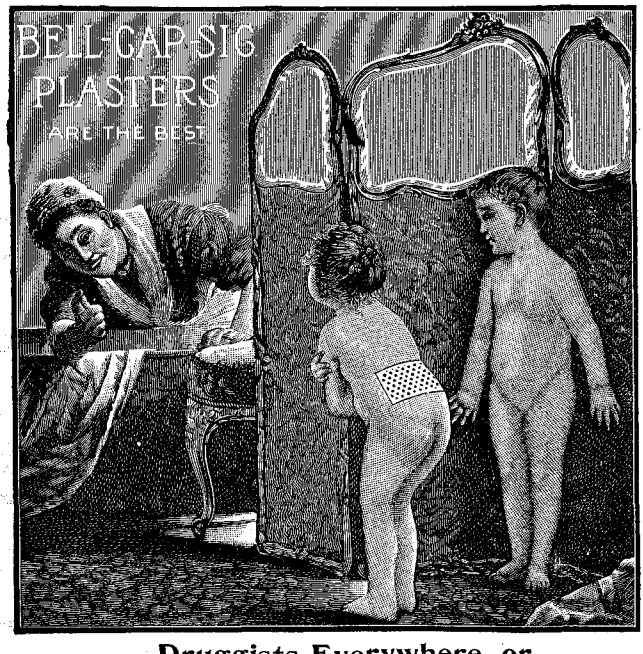

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CAUTION.
The genuine **Bell-cap-sic** have a picture of a bell on the back cloth—look for it.

BELL-CAP-SIC PLASTERS

J. M. GROSVENOR & CO.,
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should be without Dr. Grosvenor's

Bell-cap-sic Plasters,

a safeguard against congestions, inflammations, or oppressions of the lungs, pneumonia and pleurisy. These diseases should be treated without delay, lest they develop dangerous symptoms unexpectedly.

Bell-cap-sic Plasters

are quick in action and lasting in effect. Invaluable in treatment of rheumatisms, sprains, strains and all lamenesses. They cure by removing the cause.

FOR WOMEN,

Bell-cap-sic Plasters are invaluable; they rest the muscles, relieve tired, aching backs, and drive away pains peculiar to the sex.

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find instant relief from pleurisy, lumbago and kidney pains.

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Still Unexcelled

Unadulterated Nourishment.

To those not versed in the composition of Prepared Food it is next to impossible to show with what nicety the proportion of each edible must be adjusted to meet in the best manner the requirements of delicate and perhaps even shattered physical systems.

An experience of over thirty years has enabled us to produce in a small compass a food of the highest possible nutritive value, suited to the needs of the weakest as well as the youngest stomachs.

All detrimental elements have been eliminated and in every process the most extreme care is exercised. The result is a product of just those ingredients which are known to give health and strength to the weak, young or old.

We believe that the above statements are endorsed by every reader or physician who has given RIDGE'S FOOD a practical test.

Woolrich & Co., Sole Mfrs., **Palmer, Mass.**

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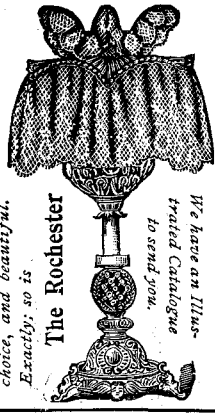
The Rochester



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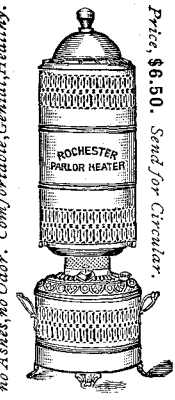
ROCHESTER PARLOR HEATER. No Coal, no Ashes, no Odor. Comfortable, Genial, Healthy.



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150 OTHER STYLES.

IT COSTS NOTHING.

We send these *Gold Watches free* by express. You pay nothing until after examination. It is our intention to introduce these watches into every state. In order to accomplish this we offer you this Ladies' or Gent's Gold Watch for **$14.50,** regular retail price $38.00. These cases are made of two plates of solid gold, so thick that they will last for years; between these plates is a very thin, stiff sheet of composition metal, the purpose of which is to protect the works from damage when pressed or struck (a feature that saves many a bill of repairs), and is accompanied by a special guarantee certificate from the manufacturers that they will wear FIFTEEN YEARS. The movement is a genuine Waltham, Elgin, or Standard, as you may select, elegantly jeweled with fine, genuine rubies, have the celebrated compensation balance, safety pinion, hardened hair spring, stem wind and set, warranted perfect timekeeper. Watches of this make are never advertised outside the show windows of fashionable jewelry stores. If you order in good faith, cut this out and forward to us and we will send you the watch by express without the payment of a single cent, so you can examine it thoroughly, and if not as represented you refuse to take it—or if you will send us 50 cents with your order we will present you FREE —with each watch—no charge—a SOLID GOLD, filled chain (not plated) with a special certificate from the manufacturers guaranteeing them. This is our method of selling goods. Instead of paying high-priced salesmen we give you the benefit of the expense by selling the best watches so cheap that you cannot afford to pass the chance of obtaining one. These watches are genuine American and there are no better made, and must not be confounded with the cheap imported advertised so extensively. In ordering, be sure to state whether ladies' or gent's is desired. (Gent's open-face, one dollar less.) Address,
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may be a place of comfort and convenience, or it may be a chamber of torture. If the barber wields a cast-iron razor and uses a gritty strop, the result is likely to be anything but pleasant. The better plan is for every man to have

A Torrey Razor

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of his own, for use in either shop or home. With these famous implements anyone can remove a wiry, cross-grained beard without a pull, scratch or smart. Every RAZOR and STROP sold under a guarantee to give satisfaction. Ask your dealer for Torrey goods.

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The frequent publication of figures showing the transactions of the Life Insurance Companies of this country has to some extent familiarized the public mind with the magnitude of the beneficent work they have done. The following comprehensive statement is a revelation as to what has been done by the greatest of all the companies,

The Mutual Life of New York.

SINCE IT WAS ORGANIZED IN 1843 IT

Has received from its Policy-holders more than	388	MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.
Has collected for its Policy-holders more than	120	
Has paid to its Policy-holders more than	304	
Has paid for its Policy-holders less than	65	
And holds Invested for its Policy-holders more than	140	

RICHARD A. McCURDY, President.
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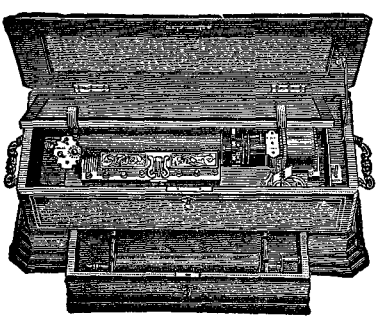

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Makes a delightful

Wedding, Anniversary and Holiday Present.

It has received the *highest award* at the *Columbian Exposition.* If in want of a really fine instrument for the home, we call your attention to our *Ideal* musical boxes, which are unsurpassed for quality of tone, durability, and finish, and can be obtained with any number or combination of tunes that may be desired. We have in stock twenty-one different styles from $70.00 up; also a complete line of music boxes of all styles and sizes, from 40c. to $1500.00.

Send 4c. stamp for 70-page illustrated catalogue with prices and lists of tunes. (Mention *The Forum.*)

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in all kinds of speculative investments has been going on for six months and will so continue until the bottom has been reached. A person who had one year ago $100,000 invested in Municipal Bonds, has suffered no **diminution in income.** This is more than can be said of Mortgages, Industrials, Railway and Trust Stocks.

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brings comfort and improvement, and tends to personal enjoyment, when rightly used. The many, who live better than others and enjoy life more, with less expenditure, by more promptly adapting the world's best products to the needs of physical being, will attest the value to health of the pure liquid laxative principles embraced in the remedy

SYRUP OF FIGS

Its excellence is due to its presenting, in the form most acceptable and pleasant to the taste, the refreshing and truly beneficial properties of a perfect laxative, effectually cleansing the system, dispelling Colds, Headaches and Fevers, and permanently curing Constipation. It has given satisfaction to millions, and met with the approval of the medical profession, because it acts on the Kidneys, Liver and Bowels without weakening them, and it is perfectly free from every objectionable substance. Syrup of Figs is for sale by all druggists in 50 cent and $1.00 bottles, but it is manufactured by the **CALIFORNIA FIG SYRUP CO.** only, whose name is printed on every package, also the name **Syrup of Figs;** and, being well informed, you will not accept any substitute if offered.

CALIFORNIA FIG SYRUP CO., San Francisco, Cal. Louisville, Ky. New York, N. Y.

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BEECHAM'S PILLS

(Vegetable)

What They Are For

Biliousness	colic	shortness of breath (dyspnoea)
indigestion (dyspepsia)	piles (hemorrhoids)	pain or oppression around the heart
sour stomach	backache	fluttering of the heart (palpitation)
sickness at the stomach (nausea)	pain in the side	irritability
vomiting	drowsiness	nervousness
heartburn	sleeplessness(insomnia)	depression of spirits
water brash	nightmare	great mental depression
loss of appetite (anorexia)	hot and throbbing head	general debility
coated tongue	coldness of hands and feet	faintness
bad taste in the mouth	hot skin	exhaustion
wind on the stomach (flatulence)	dizziness (vertigo)	listlessness
torpid liver	sick headache (megrim or hemicrania)	weakness
jaundice	nervous headache	poverty of the blood (anaemia)
bellyache	dull headache	pallor
cramps	fulness of the stomach (distention)	

when these conditions are caused by constipation; and constipation is the most frequent cause of most of them.

One of the most important things for everybody to learn is that constipation causes more than half the sickness in the world, especially in women; and it can all be prevented. They who call the cure for constipation a cure-all, are only half-wrong after all.

Write to B. F. Allen Company, 365 Canal Street, New York, for a little book on CONSTIPATION (its causes consequences and correction); sent free. If you are not within reach of a druggist, the pills will be sent by mail, 25 cents a box.

HOW TO TAKE THEM

First night, take one at bedtime. If this does not empty the bowels freely, the second night take two. If this fails the third night take three, and so on; for a child old enough to swallow a pill, one pill is the dose.

The object, in the beginning, is to empty the bowels freely.

The dose to go on with is generally one or two pills; but a person very hard to move may require as many as eight for several nights in succession.

The nightly dose should be diminished gradually until a night can be skipped without missing the stool next morning.

The object now is to keep the bowels regular. The pills do that, if enough and not too many are taken. They do more. See that list at the top of the page.

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GOLD MEDAL, PARIS, 1878.

W. BAKER & Co.'S Breakfast Cocoa

from which the excess of oil has been removed,

Is Absolutely Pure and it is Soluble.

No Chemicals

are used in its preparation. It has *more than three times the strength* of Cocoa mixed with Starch, Arrowroot or Sugar, and is therefore far more economical, *costing less than one cent a cup.* It is delicious, nourishing, strengthening, EASILY DIGESTED, and admirably adapted for invalids as well as for persons in health.

Sold by Grocers everywhere.

W. BAKER & CO., DORCHESTER, MASS.

"When the frost is on the pumpkin
And the fodder's in the shock,"

THEN YOU BEGIN TO THINK

of hearts to be made happy with Christmas gifts—things most desired—most useful—most conducive to health and happiness.

Nothing quite so desirable as a **Bicycle**
—None other quite so good as

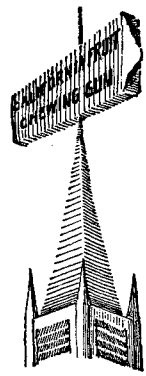
RAMBLER BICYCLES

HONORED WITH THE
HIGHEST AWARD!
5 MEDALS AND DIPLOMAS
AT THE
"WORLD'S FAIR."

Catalogue, telling all about Ramblers, free at any Rambler Agency or for two 2-cent stamps by

GORMULLY & JEFFERY MFG. CO.,
Chicago. Boston. Washington. New York.

Shows how the wind blows.



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